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T H E *James* *Sever*
H I S T O R Y
O F

The WAR of MDCCXLI.

CONTAINING

The History of that War till the
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

In THREE PARTS.
François Marie Arouet
By M. [^]de VOLTAIRE.

To which is annexed,

A particular ACCOUNT of the rise, pro-
gress, and extinction of the REBELLION
in G. Britain in 1745 and 1746.

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Letter of

Miss Elizabeth P. Scoen
of Kingston, Mass

ADVERTISEMENT.

M. De Voltaire, the most universal genius perhaps which France ever produced, is generally acknowledged to be, in almost every species of writing, nearly upon a level with the greatest authors who applied themselves chiefly to one. His manner of writing is extremely entertaining, but he falls into several mistakes as to facts. French vanity appears in all his compositions, and his excessive attachment to his own nation sometimes leads him to disguise the truth. Three remarkable instances may be found in the following history; viz. in the account he gives of the battle of Fontenoy in 1745, the descent made by the British troops upon the coast of Britany in 1746, and the late rebellion in Scotland. The mistakes in this last are corrected by notes in this edition; and there is annexed an Appendix, containing a particular account of the rise, progress, and extinction of that rebellion. The author of this account, who is not ashamed to own he is attached to his present Majesty's person and government, and to the Protestant succession in his illustrious family, in opposition to a Popish pretender and all his adherents, has endeavoured to set the several material transactions relating to that important event in a just light, and has all along observed the strictest regard to truth. As he flatters himself with the approbation of every lover of his country, every loyal subject; so he disregards the reflections and menaces of Papists and Jacobites, those devotees to the absurd doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance.

But as a larger and more particular account of the rebellion is intended, the author of the appendix earnestly intreats, that all gentlemen and lovers of truth, who are possessed of any original papers relative to this commotion, and who can give any anecdotes concerning the behaviour of the rebels both in Scotland and England, and of the conduct of the royal army after the battle of Culloden, and in their pursuit of the remains of the rebels, would be pleased to send them to the publisher of this edition, and proper attention shall be paid to them in the intended history. Truth, and nothing but truth shall be told of all parties, without either feud or favour.

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THE
HISTORY
OF

The WAR of 1741.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

*Situation of the affairs of Europe, and a sketch
of the history of those events which preceded
the war of 1741.*

I HAVE always considered the Christian powers of Europe as one great republic, whose parts all correspond with each other, even when they endeavour at their mutual destruction. A general consent has established what we call the laws of war, laws unknown to other nations: the point of precedency or rank of almost every prince has been regulated: the catholics have two cities in common; one of which is Malta, the centre of perpetual war against the enemies of the Christian name; the other is Rome, which, in more respects than
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one, is so far the capital of the different kingdoms professing the Roman-catholic religion, that each has a right to nominate one of the principal ministers of the sovereign, and that their ecclesiastical (and even temporal) causes are tried there by the tribunal of the Rota, composed of judges taken from each nation. Upon the frontiers of all Catholic states, the sovereigns have territories subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of a foreign bishop. Nothing is more frequent than to see the privileges, the honours, and even the military orders of one country conferred on the inhabitants of another. Most princes have even sovereignties situated in the midst of a foreign state. Thus it is that the Pope is possessed of Avignon in France, and of Benevento in the kingdom of Naples; and thus the Venetians have sovereignties in the midst of the Milanese. There is not a prince in Germany, part of whose territories are not somewhere inclosed by those of another prince.

In all these states the old Roman law is in full force: they have all the same learned language; and the several courts have adopted the same living tongue. Commerce has still strengthened these connexions. Merchants maintain so close a correspondence, even in time of war, that the English have been constantly interested in the Spanish trade, even while they were armed for the destruction of that monarchy; so that when their privateers took a prize, they really plundered their own countrymen. In short, the wars carried on by Christian powers are in such a manner civil wars, that, in 1701, Victor duke of Savoy

voy was fighting against his two sons in law: the prince of Vaudemont commanded for the Spaniards in the dukedom of Milan; while his son, who had followed the Austrian party, was very near taking his own father prisoner. In the war carried on by the duke of Orleans, regent of France, in 1718, against his cousin Philip V. king of Spain, the duke of Liria served against his father the duke of Berwick. In the war whose history I am going to relate, the kings of France, Spain, Poland, and the elector of Bavaria, were the nearest relations of the queen of Hungary, whose territories they invaded; and the elector of Bavaria, in particular, grounded his right to strip her, on that very connexion of blood. During the course of this war, Francis, great duke of Tuscany, the present emperor, kept an envoy at Paris*, whose children were fighting against this very prince: and the sons of the chief minister of Tuscany were all engaged in the French service. A thousand instances of this kind were before our eyes, and yet did not surprize us.

The sovereigns of the different states in this part of the world are all allied either by blood or by treaties; and yet they very seldom conclude either a marriage or a treaty, which does not prove the source of discord.

Commerce, by which they are also necessarily connected, generally divides them. These two motives of war are unknown to the rest of the world. They know of no such thing as a wife bringing war to her husband for her dower, by
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pretensions

• The marquis of Stainville.

pretensions to a distant province: they know of no act of confraternity among princes; of no reversion of one family to another not at all related to that family; of no little fiefs yielding homage at the same time to several great sovereigns, who are disputing with each other about the homage and the fief itself, as it frequently happens in Germany and in Italy. Hence it is, that, excepting the invasions of conquerors, which are still more cruel in Asia than in Europe, and the unavoidable quarrels in regard to frontiers, especially betwixt the Turks and the Persians, Asia enjoys almost a perpetual peace.

Those who examine closely into the great events of this sublunary world, observe, that there have been forty severe wars in Europe since 1600; and that there has been only one war of any consequence in Great Tartary, in China, and in the Indies, countries of far greater extent, more populous, and richer than Europe: in fine, there has been no war at all, either in Asia, Africa, or America, concerning commerce, which has not been excited by European nations.

The marriage of Maximilian I. afterwards emperor of Germany, to Mary of Burgundy, had been, during three centuries, a bone of contention between the house of France and that of Austria. The American and Asiatic commerce proved afterwards a new subject of discord in Europe. And it was the great quarrels between Charles V. and Francis I. that first gave rise to the system of equilibrium, which in our days has been the cause of so many wars and confederacies. Henry VIII. king of England, finding himself

himself situated between those two powerful rivals, wanted to hinder either of them from oppressing the other. He took for his device, an archer holding his bow stretched, with these words, *He whom I defend, shall be master.* But if this prince held the balance, he held it with a very unsteady hand.

Queen Elisabeth constantly assisted Henry IV. who was oppressed by the house of Austria; and the United Provinces were indebted for their liberty to the protection of Elisabeth, and to this very Henry IV. England and Holland continued to be allies of France, so long as the house of Austria continued to be formidable to those powers. Though the knot which joined them might have been sometimes slackened, it was never entirely broke; for they were too sensible of their real interests.

The Protestant princes of Germany were likewise the natural allies of France; because, ever since the reign of Charles V. they were afraid of the house of Austria's growing too mighty, so as to endanger the liberty of the empire. The Swedes were therefore invited into Germany by those Protestant princes, by France, and even by Rome herself, who dreaded the authority of the emperors, which had been long disputed, but still prevailed in Italy. Then it was, that England and Holland with pleasure beheld, towards the middle of the last century, the imperial branch of Austria reduced to the necessity of yielding Lusatia to the elector of Saxony, and the prefecture of Alsace to France; at the same time that
Lewis

Lewis XIII. stripped the Spanish branch of the province of Roussillon.

Cromwel, the usurper of England, did not act counter to this system; and though he had murdered the brother in law of Lewis XIII. and the uncle of Lewis XIV. still he continued to be closely united to France. The wishes of all nations seemed to be generally in her favour against the Austrians, till the time when Lewis XIV. began to be formidable by his conquests, by the choice he made of the greatest generals, and ablest ministers, and, in, fine, by the weakness of his enemies. In 1667, he had made himself master of one half of Flanders, and the year following he had taken Franche Comte' from the house of Austria. Then the Dutch, a people who had suddenly raised themselves by their courage in war, and by their industry in peace, ceased to be apprehensive of the Austrians, their antient masters; and turned their jealousies against the French, their antient protectors. Their negotiations obliged Lewis XIV. to conclude the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, a success of which they greatly boasted.

This was the origin of that famous irruption which this monarch made into Holland in the year 1672. He easily made Charles II. king of England chime in with his views, knowing he wanted money, and that he had some reason to complain of the Seven Provinces. Lewis chose rather to punish Holland than to conquer Flanders, a country to which he had some claims, and of which he would perhaps have kept possession. But not long after, the Dutch and the English entered into an alliance; and from that time forwards they

they have obstinately opposed the interests of France. The glory and power of Lewis XIV. increased; and this increased the number of his enemies.

That very system of equilibrium which had been so long pursued against the Austrians, was now turned against the French. William Stadtholder of the United Provinces, and king of England, was, from the year 1689, the soul of a party which united Spain, Germany, England, Holland, Savoy, and even Pope Innocent XI. against Lewis XIV. Yet Lewis stood his ground against so many enemies. For a long time he maintained an army of very near 400,000 men, and above one hundred ships of the line; though, upon his accession to the crown, he had not above six ships of war. And notwithstanding his navy met with such a violent shock at the Hogue, and the India company, erected by the great Colbert, had been reduced to nothing; yet he concluded a peace at Ryswick, which was neither unglorious nor unprofitable. That very system of general equilibrium, composed of so many private views, produced this peace, and gave birth to a kind of policy hitherto unknown to Europe.

The last prince of the Austrian branch upon the throne of Spain, was in a declining state of health, and had no children. This induced the courts of London and of the Hague to conclude a treaty with Lewis XIV. whom they did not love, whereby they disposed of the dominions of Spain in conjunction with that prince. They divided them among several princes, giving part of the spoil to Lewis XIV. lest this prince should
grasp

grasp at the whole inheritance. Charles II. king of Spain was so incensed at the insult offered to his weakness, in making a partition of his estate during his lifetime, that he named the son of the elector of Bavaria heir to all his dominions. This young prince was the great grandson of Philip III. The choice appeared just and prudent: the house of Austria might grumble, but could not help herself. The inevitable disputes which would have attended a partition, were prevented by this means, and the equilibrium of Europe was preserved. But the prince of Bavaria died three months after he had been declared successor to the crown of Spain.

Then another treaty of partition was proposed, whereby, among other conventions, they gave the duchy of Milan to the house of Lorraine, and the duchy of Lorraine to the king of France; a project which has since been partly executed. Upon this the king of Spain, seeing himself so near his end, tho' in the flower of his life, was disposed to leave all his kingdoms to his wife's nephew, Charles the archduke, second son of the emperor Leopold: but he durst not think of leaving them to the eldest brother, from the strong notion he entertained of a balance of power, and from a persuasion that the apprehension of seeing Spain, the Indies, the Empire, Hungary, Bohemia and Lombardy, all subject to one prince, would be a means of arming the rest of Europe. He wanted the emperor Leopold to send his second son Charles to Madrid at the head of ten thousand men: but neither France, England, Holland, nor Italy, would at that time have suffered it; they were all for a
treaty

treaty of partition. The emperor did not chuse to send his son by himself into Spain, nor was he able to force away for ten thousand men into that kingdom. The same thing happened, in an affair of the greatest importance betwixt two great princes, as every day happens to private people in trifling matters; they debated till high words arose, and then they quarrelled. The Spanish pride was offended at the German stiffness: the countess of Perlitz, who had a great ascendant over the queen of Spain, instead of conciliating the minds of the Spaniards to the German interest, alienated them from it; and the court of Vienna offended them a great deal more, by their haughty manner of proceeding.

The young archduke was accustomed to call the Spaniards by an abusive name; but he learned to his cost, with what circumspection princes ought to weigh their words. The bishop of Lerida, ambassador from Spain to the court of Vienna, being dissatisfied with the Germans, generally took care to make matters worse, by aggravating those expressions to the court of Spain; while he himself said much more injurious things against the Austrian council, than the archduke had ever uttered against the Spaniards. "Leopold's ministers," said he in one of his letters, "have their minds formed just like the horns of the bulls in my country, small, hard and crooked." This letter being made public, the bishop of Lerida was recalled; but, at his return to Madrid, he only increased the aversion which the Spaniards had already conceived against the Austrians.

A number of trifling incidents, with which the

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most

most important affairs are generally interwoven, contributed to the great change which happened in Europe, and paved the way for that revolution by which the house of Austria was for ever deprived of Spain and the Indies. Cardinal Portocarrero, and the rest of the Spanish grandees who had most credit at court, desirous of preventing the partition of the Spanish monarchy, all joined in persuading Charles II. to prefer a grandson of Lewis XIV. to a prince who was at a great distance from Spain, and at the same time unable to defend it. This was not annulling the solemn renunciations which the mother and wife of Lewis XIV. had made of the crown of Spain; because these had been made merely with an intent to hinder the eldest of their descendents from ever enjoying the sovereignty of the two kingdoms; but in the present case the eldest was not pitched upon; while at the same time it was doing justice to the rights of blood, and preserving the Spanish monarchy entire and undivided.

Charles being a scrupulous prince, consulted the ablest divines, who were of the same opinion as his council. In short, infirm as he was, he wrote with his own hand to Pope Innocent XII. and proposed the case himself. The Pope imagining that the weakning of the house of Austria would strengthen the liberty of Italy, wrote in answer to the king, that the laws of Spain, and the general good of Christendom, required he should give the preference to the house of France. The Pope's letter was dated the 16th of July 1700. He wisely treated this case of conscience as a state-affair; while the king of Spain, who with
very

very good reason was desirous of having justice on his side, treated this weighty matter of state as a case of conscience.

Lewis XIV. was informed of this step; and this was the whole share which the court of Versailles had in this memorable event. There was not even so much as a French ambassador at that time at Madrid: for marshal Harcourt had been recalled six months before from that court; where his presence was become disagreeable by the treaty of partition, which France seemed ready to maintain by force of arms. In vain did all Europe imagine, that the will of Charles II. had been dictated at Versailles. The dying prince only consulted the interest of his kingdom, and the wishes of his subjects. So secret was this testament, which changed the face of Europe, that count Harrach, the imperial ambassador, still flattered himself that the succession was settled on the archduke; and he waited a great while for the issue of the great council, which was immediately held after the king's decease.

The duke d'Abrantes approached him with open arms. The ambassador no longer doubted but the archduke was declared king from that very instant; when the duke d'Abrantes expressed himself in these words as he embraced him, "I come from taking my leave of the house of Austria." Thus the house of France, after two hundred years spent in war, and in negotiations, about a few frontier-provinces of the Spanish dominions, acquired by the stroke of a pen the entire monarchy, without treaty or intrigue, or even without having had any hopes of this

succession. We thought ourselves obliged to publish the naked truth in regard to a fact which has been hitherto darkened by such a number of ministers and historians, whom prejudices or appearances have seduced. All that has been handed about in so many volumes, in regard to marshal d'Harcourt's giving away such sums of money, and the bribing of the Spanish ministers, to come at this will, deserves to be ranked among the number of political lies, and popular errors. The minister who had the department of foreign affairs at that time in France, has given an authentic testimonial of this truth, in a piece written with his own hand. The king of Spain, however, at the same time that he bequeathed the succession of his dominions to the grandson of a king who had been so long his enemy, had his thoughts fixed on the consequences which might follow from the idea of a general equilibrium. The duke of Anjou, grandson of Lewis XIV. was called to the succession of the crown of Spain, because he was not to expect that of France; and the same testament which, in default of the princes descended from Lewis XIV. gave the crown to the archduke Charles, who was afterwards emperor, mentioned in express terms, that the empire and Spain should never be reunited under the same sovereign.

The Austrian branch which sat on the imperial throne, finding itself deprived of the Spanish succession, and only substituted in default of issue of the duke of Anjou, excited almost every power in Europe against the house of Bourbon. This same Leopold, who was neither able nor willing
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to send ten thousand men into Spain to secure the crown for his son the archduke, soon brought an hundred thousand into the field. The duke of Savoy, father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, and to the king of Spain, entered some time after into an alliance against his sons-in-law.

England and Holland having declared in favour of the archduke, bore the greatest part of the burden of the whole war; till at length the equilibrium, which had been the motive of such furious dissensions, served as a pretext for a peace. The case foreseen by Charles II. king of Spain came to pass. The archduke, on whom the Spanish monarchy was entailed, and for whom they were carrying on this bloody war, was become emperor in 1711, by the death of his eldest brother Joseph. The Tories in England, who opposed the Whig ministry, embraced this opportunity to determine the queen not to waste any longer the blood and treasure of the English, only in order to make the new emperor Charles VI. far more powerful than ever Charles V. had been, and to act contrary to the very intention and real interest of England, as well as of the rest of Europe, who had been apprehensive of seeing the imperial and Spanish crowns on the same head. But what contributed the most to the great work of peace, was an incident from which no one could ever have expected a consequence of such importance.

As the haughtiness of a German lady had been one of the chief causes of the testamentary disposition of Charles II. so the indecent behaviour of an English lady to queen Anne gave peace to Europe.

Europe. The queen, being offended with the duchess of Marlborough, began to lose all patience; an incident which the Tories improved to their advantage. The queen changed her ministers and maxims; and England, which had been the inveterate enemy of France, concluded a separate peace. Soon after this step, the lucky victory which marshal Villars obtained at Denain; in the neighbourhood of Landreay, determined the Dutch, and the emperor Charles VI. to conclude a general peace.

Lewis XIV. after ten years reverse of fortune, after having been reduced in 1710 to the distressed condition of consenting to abandon his grandson the king of Spain, and having had the mortification of not being listened to, unless he joined the allies himself against his own blood; at length enjoyed the pleasure of seeing his grandson firmly settled on the throne of Spain.

But notwithstanding this monarchy had been given to Philip only to prevent its being dismembered; yet they were obliged to divide it. The emperor, by the treaty of Rastadt and Baden, made in 1714, kept the Austrian Netherlands, together with the dukedom of Milan, and the kingdom of Naples, in spite of that antient law which determines that this kingdom shall be always incompatible with the empire. Charles V. had submitted to that law when he received the investiture of the kingdom of Naples of the Pope, before he had been possessed of the imperial crown: but this mighty vassal found no great difficulty in obliging such a weak sovereign as the Pope to release him from his oath; and Charles

VI. met with the same complaisance from the court of Rome as Charles V.

Sicily, another member of the Spanish monarchy, was then given to the duke of Savoy, who had afterwards Sardinia in exchange. The isle of Minorca and Gibraltar, which had been taken by the English, were ceded to that nation. The king of Prussia gained Upper Guelderland. The Dutch had a barrier composed of Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ipres, Dendermond, &c. At the same time that the emperor left the care of defending those places to the Dutch, he constantly paid them two millions five hundred thousand livres a-year; a convention almost unparalleled in history, to give his money and his strong towns to his allies, instead of having them garisoned by his own troops.

The elector of Bavaria, father of him who was afterwards emperor by the name of Charles VII. and his brother the elector of Cologne, were restored to their territories, and to those rights of which they had been stripped for having sided with France, and for being unfortunate. The emperor Joseph had put them under the bann of the empire, by his own single authority, without the consent of the three colleges.

Thus all the belligerent powers reaped considerable advantages from this peace, the chief of which, though not sufficiently regarded, was the preservation of the human species. Such a bloody war, in which there were at least six hundred thousand combatants on one side and the other, in Italy, Spain, Germany and Flanders, must have

have destroyed about a hundred thousand men every year. And it is beyond all doubt, that the south of Europe had, in ten years, lost above a million of men in the flower of life.

Each nation repaired its losses during the twenty years which followed the peace of Utrecht; happy years, whose felicity met with very little interruption. England increased her trade by the surrender which France made to her of Newfoundland and Acadia; by the *Assiento* treaty, which put her in possession of the Negro trade with Spanish America; and, in fine, by the permission which she extorted from Spain, of sending every year a ship to Portobello, which became the staple of an immense counterband commerce.

France had only three hundred merchant ships at the time of the treaty of Utrecht; but was mistress of above eighteen hundred in 1740. Her commerce and her manufactures were in a flourishing condition. Out of the wreck of a destructive scheme, which in 1719 ruined one part of the nation, and enriched the other, a new East-India company arose, which in 1725 was possessed of a stock of one hundred millions of Livres lent to the state, and of 39 millions in ships, storehouses, and valuable commodities. This company rebuilt and enlarged the city of Pondicherry in the East-Indies; which at present contains one hundred thousand inhabitants, is regularly fortified, and defended by four hundred and fifty pieces of cannon: they cleared Port l'Orient in Britany, and of a village made it a trading town: they had sixty ships from four hundred to eight hundred tons: in fine, during the
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the space of twenty-eight years, their commerce had been a nursery of seamen, and a constant source of treasure and plenty; for while all the stock-proprietors received a considerable interest from the farm of tobacco, the whole profits of the company were employed in making new settlements: they could be charged with nothing but superfluous expences, which indeed are a mark of riches. The commerce of the French colonies alone produced a circulation of one hundred millions of livres, and moreover enriched the nation by the commodities which were transported from one hemisphere to the other: in some of these colonies the number of inhabitants had been doubled since the year 1712.

Almost all the towns in France were improved in the elegance of their buildings; the kingdom was visibly grown more populous, and during this long space of time had met with no shock of foreign wars. The rupture between the duke of Orleans, regent of France, and the king of Spain, in 1718, was neither long nor unfortunate. It was not between nation and nation, but between the two princes; the people hardly minded it at Paris, where their thoughts were all employed about the great game of stocks, which made, and which ruined, such a number of mens fortunes.

The design of Spain was to recover those provinces which had been wrested from that monarchy; but it was not then a time to make the attempt. In vain did the Spanish troops make a descent upon Sardinia, which then belonged to the emperor; and afterwards upon Sicily, possessed

sed by the duke of Savoy in virtue of the treaty of Utrecht. The consequence of these armaments was, that the emperor Charles VI. by the help of a British fleet, and even aided by the regent of France, took Sicily to himself. This island had been ceded by the treaty of Utrecht to the house of Savoy, whose princes, after a reign of four years in Sicily, were made kings of Sardinia, which they still possess.

Never were there so many negotiations as at that time; never more treaties, nor more jealousies of each other. The interests of each nation seemed to change with that of individuals. The English government, closely connected with that ministry which in the reign of Lewis XIV. had done every thing to settle Philip V. on the throne, was become his enemy. Affairs went out of their natural chanel to such a degree, that the court of Madrid flung herself into the arms of her rival and enemy, the court of Vienna; which, after having so long contended with her for the Spanish monarchy, remained mistress of Naples, and had lately driven her out of the island of Sicily.

In short, this same emperor Charles VI. whose sole intention had been always to prevent the new house of Spain from having any admittance into Italy, was at length so far prevailed upon, contrary to his own opinion, as to consent that a son of Philip V. and of his second wife, Elisabeth of Parma, should be introduced, with six thousand Spaniards, into the duchy of Parma and Placentia, though the succession was not as yet open. He gave the eventual investiture of
this

this country, as also of the great dukedom of Tuscany, to Don Carlos, in 1725, by a solemn treaty, which had been upon the carpet long before that time; and he received two hundred thousand Spanish pistoles, the price of an engagement for which he was one day to pay so dear. In this convention every thing was odd and surprising. It was two rival families that united, without trusting to each other: it was the English, who had used their utmost endeavours to dethrone Philip V. and had stripped him of Minorca and Gibraltar, which they still continued to possess in spite of Spain, that were the mediators of the treaty: it was Riperda, a Dutchman, now grown all-powerful in Spain, who signed it, and who, after having signed it, was disgraced.

Whilst the Spanish branch of Bourbon thus acquired dominions by a transient conjunction with her enemy, there was a misunderstanding between her and the French branch, in spite of all the ties of blood and interest, by which they should have been naturally united. Thus it was that the two branches of Austria had been formerly divided. France at that time, having joined with England, had no real allies: but in the year 1727 every thing began to return into its natural channel; the French ministry strengthened the bonds of amity betwixt the two houses of France, and this ministry appearing honest and disinterested, became insensibly the mediators of Europe.

England and Spain went to open war for a point of commerce. The Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar, and wasted their time and forces be-

fore that town, which the English had rendered impregnable. France offered her mediation*, and saved the honour of the Spaniards; at the same time a stop was put to the siege, and the jarring interests were reconciled by treaties.

† The emperor wanted to elude the promise he had made of giving Tuscany, Parma and Placentia to Don Carlos: but the French ministry engaged him to keep his word. The same ministry prevailed very artfully on the English, tho' the avowed enemies of the grandeur of the house of Bourbon, to transport the six thousand Spaniards into Italy, which were to secure to Don Carlos the possession of his new dominions. And accordingly this prince was conveyed thither some time afterwards, together with his troops, by an English fleet. He was acknowledged sovereign of Parma in 1731, and heir to the dukedom of Tuscany. The grand-duke, who was the last prince of the house of Medicis, accepted of the heir who had been nominated to his dominions without asking his consent.

The French ministry had some time before prevailed on the emperor, in compliance with the interest of all the trading nations, of which France was not at that time the least considerable, to suppress the East-India company which he had erected at Ostend. Thus this crown enjoyed the tranquil glory of being the mediator of all its neighbours, when the death of Augustus II. king of Poland changed the face of Europe.

Cardinal Fleury, who was then near fourscore, thought only of continuing that happy peace to
France

* 1728.

† 1729.

France and to Europe. His inclination, his character, his age, his moderation, in which he placed all his glory, all together rendered him extremely averse to a war. Walpole, the English minister, was of the same disposition: Spain had obtained all that she had demanded; the North was in a profound tranquillity; when the death of Augustus II. king of Poland involved Europe again in those calamities from which it is seldom exempt for the space of ten years without interruption.

King Stanislaus, the father-in-law of Lewis XV. who had been already named king of Poland in 1704, was elected king in the most legitimate and the most solemn manner. But the emperor Charles VI. made them proceed to another election; which was supported by that prince's arms, and by those of Russia. The son of the late king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and nephew of Charles VI. carried it against his competitor; and the house of Austria, which had not been able to keep possession of Spain and the West-Indies, had power sufficient to wrest Poland from the father-in-law of Lewis XV. France then beheld such another case renewed as that which had happened to Armand prince of Conty, who, though legally chosen, yet, being unprovided with money and troops, and more recommended than supported, lost the Kingdom to which the people had called him. K. Stanislaus went to Dantzic to support his election: but the majority, by whom he had been chosen, soon gave way to the minority, that opposed him. This country, where the common people are slaves, where the nobility sell their votes,

votes, where the public treasury has never any money sufficient to maintain an army, where the laws are without vigour, and where liberty is productive only of divisions; I say, this country vainly boasted of a numerous nobility, who are able to bring one hundred thousand horse into the field. Ten thousand Russians dispersed Stanislaus's whole party. The Poles, who a century before used to look upon the Russians with contempt, were at that time overawed and directed by that nation. The empire of Russia was become formidable since it had been new-modelled by Peter the Great. Ten thousand Russian slaves, by being disciplined to arms, dispersed the whole body of the Polish nobility; and king Stanislaus was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Dantzic, where he was soon besieged by a Russian army of upwards of forty thousand men. The emperor of Germany, in conjunction with Russia, was sure of success. To hold the balance even, France must have transported a numerous army by sea; but England would not have looked on such an immense armament with indifference. Cardinal Fleury, who was willing to keep terms with England, neither chose to have the disgrace of entirely abandoning Stanislaus, nor to risk too great a number of troops in his defence. He therefore fitted out a squadron, with only fifteen hundred men, commanded by a brigadier. This officer, not imagining it to be a serious commission, when he came near to Dantzic, thought he should sacrifice the lives of his men to no manner of use, and therefore put back into Denmark. Count de Plelo, ambassador from France to the king of Denmark,

mark, with indignation beheld this retreat, which seemed so dishonourable to the nation. The count, though but a young man, was a polite scholar, and a philosopher, and had a soul actuated by heroic sentiments, worthy of a better fortune. He resolved to succour Dantzic with his small body of men against a whole army, or to perish in the attempt. Before he embarked, he wrote a letter to count Maurepas, minister of state, which he concluded with these words: "I am certain I shall never return, therefore I recommend my wife and children to your care." He came before Dantzic; where he landed his men, and attacked the Russian army. As he had foretold, he was slain; and the few soldiers under his command, that escaped the sword, were made prisoners of war. His letter, which was extremely moving, came together with the news of his death, and drew tears from the whole council. He was lamented and admired by all Paris. I remember that when his widow appeared sometime after in the public walks with her children, the crowd surrounded her with acclamations of affection, expressing the veneration they had for her husband's memory.

Dantzic was taken. On which occasion the French ambassador, who was then in that town, was made prisoner of war, notwithstanding the privileges of his character. King Stanislaus made his escape through the enemy in a disguised habit, after he had seen a price set upon his head by the Russian general, in a free kingdom, in his own country, and in the midst of the nation by whom he had been lawfully elected.

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The French ministry would have forfeited their reputation, a thing so necessary for the support of grandeur, if they had not taken satisfaction for so gross an affront; but this satisfaction would have signified nothing, unless it was attended with some benefit to the nation. The Muscovites were too far off to call them to an account; so that it was the business of the French ministry to wreak their vengeance against the emperor, which they effectually did in Germany and in Italy. France joined with Spain and Sardinia; and these three powers had their different interests, which all concurred to the same end, of weakening the house of Austria. The dukes of Savoy had for a long time increased their dominions by degrees; sometimes by selling their succours to the emperors, and at other times by declaring against them. King Charles Emmanuel was in hopes of getting the Milanese; and it was promised him by the ministers of Versailles and of Madrid. Philip V. king of Spain, or rather his queen Elisabeth of Parma, expected a more considerable settlement for her children than Parma and Placentia. The king of France had no other view than his own glory, the humiliation of his enemies, and the success of his allies. No body foresaw at that time that Lorain was to be the fruit of the war. Mankind are generally led by events, of which they have seldom the direction. Never was there a treaty more expeditiously concluded, than that which united those three monarchs. England and Holland, powers long accustomed to declare for Austria against France, forsook her upon this occasion. This
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was the effect of the reputation which the French court had acquired, of equity and moderation. The opinion of her pacific and disinterested views kept her natural enemies quiet, even while she was at war. And indeed nothing could do a greater honour at that time to Cardinal Fleury, than his attaining to such a degree of credit, as to persuade those powers, that France might wage war against the emperor, without endangering the liberty of Europe. All the other powers looked with unconcern at the rapid success of the French arms. They were masters of the field upon the Rhine; and the combined troops of France, Spain, and Savoy, over-ran Italy, where Marshal Villars finished his career at the age of eighty-four, after he had taken Milan. His successor, Marshal Coigni, gained two battles; while the Spanish general, the duke of Montemart, obtained a victory at Bitonto, in the kingdom of Naples, from whence he took a new surname. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged heir to Tuscany, was soon made king of Naples and Sicily. Thus the emperor lost almost every foot he had in Italy, by busying himself in giving a king to Poland: and a son of the king of Spain acquired in two campaigns the Two Sicilies, kingdoms so often taken and retaken; kingdoms which the house of Austria, for more than two centuries, had made constantly the object of her pretensions.

This war in Italy is the only one that concluded with any solid success to the French nation since Charlemagne. The reason is, they acted in conjunction with the guardian of the Alps, who

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was become the most powerful prince in that country ; they were assisted by the best troops belonging to the crown of Spain ; and their armies were always plentifully supplied with provisions.

The emperor was then glad to receive such conditions of peace as the conqueror was pleased to grant. Cardinal Fleury had not only the address to hinder England and Holland from taking part in this war, but likewise to conclude an advantageous peace without their mediation.

Europe was accustomed to see kingdoms given away and exchanged. By this peace, Don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily. To Francis duke of Lorraine, the emperor's intended son-in-law, they assigned the succession of the house of Medicis, which before had been granted to Don Carlos. The last grand duke of Tuscany, being near his end, asked, " Whether they would not give him a third heir, " and whether the empire and France did not " want to make a new child for him ? " Not that the great dukedom of Tuscany considered itself as an imperial fief, but the emperor looked upon it as such, as well as Parma and Placentia, which had been always claimed by the holy see, and whose last duke had yielded homage to the Pope. Thus the rights of princes change with the times. By this peace, the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which of birthright belonged to Don Carlos, son of Philip V. and of a princess of Parma, were yielded in full property to the emperor Charles VI.

The king of Sardinia, who had fixed his eye on the Milanese, to which his family, that had gradually raised itself, had some old pretensions, obtain-

obtained only a small part of it, namely, the Novarese, the Tortonese, and the fiefs of Langhes. His claim to the Milanese was derived from a daughter of Philip II. king of Spain, from whom he was descended. France had also her ancient pretensions, derived from Lewis XII. the natural heir of this dukedom. Philip V. had likewise his claims, founded on the infeoffments renewed to four of his predecessors, kings of Spain. But all these pretensions were superseded by the public utility. The emperor kept possession of the Milanese, notwithstanding the general law of the fiefs of the empire, which requires, that the emperor, as Lord Paramount, shall always grant the investiture of them; otherwise he might at long-run swallow up all the feudal dependencies belonging to his crown.

By this treaty, king Stanislaus renounced the kingdom to which he had been twice elected, without being able to keep it. They left him indeed the title of King; but he wanted a more solid indemnity, an indemnity of greater advantage to France than to himself. Cardinal Fleury seemed satisfied at first with the duchy of Bar, which the duke of Lorraine had yielded to Stanislaus, with the reversion to the crown of France. But Lorraine itself was not to be ceded till the duke was put into full possession of Tuscany. This was making the cession of Lorraine to depend upon a great many casualties, and profiting very little by the most signal success, and the most favourable conjunctures. The cardinal was encouraged to avail himself of his present advantages; which induced him to de-

mand Lorrain on the same conditions as the duchy of Bar, and he obtained it. All it cost him was some ready money, and a pension of four millions five hundred thousand livres to duke Francis, till Tuscany devolved to him. Thus the reunion of Lorrain to the French monarchy, a reunion so often attempted in vain, was irrevocably completed. By this means, a Polish king was transplanted to Lorrain; the reigning family of the princes of Lorrain to Tuscany; and the second son of the king of Spain to Naples: so that the French ministry might have renewed Trajan's medal, REGNA ASSIGNATA, *Kingdoms disposed of.*

The emperor Charles VI. fancied himself a great gainer by this treaty. Ever since the year 1713, he had endeavoured to engage the different states of the empire, with the neighbouring princes, to guaranty the indivisible possession of his hereditary dominions to his eldest daughter Mary Teresa, whom he afterwards married to the duke of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuscany; in 1736. His hopes were, that a son by his eldest daughter would rescue his family from extinction, and, preserving the patrimony of the house of Austria, might continue the imperial crown to his posterity. With this expectation, he had contributed to place the elector of Saxony, who was married to one of his nieces, on the throne of Poland, by force of arms; and had obtained of him the guaranty of that famous act of succession, called the *Caroline pragmatic sanction*. He had also the guaranty of England, Holland, Russia, Denmark, and of the states of
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the empire; he even flattered himself, that he should obtain of the elector of Bavaria an equivalent to a formal acceptation, upon marrying his niece, the second daughter of the emperor Joseph, to this elector. In fine, he imagined he had secured every thing, when he obtained the guaranty of France. But prince Eugene, some time before he died, had told him, that he ought to have an army of two hundred thousand men, without troubling his head about any guaranty.

In the mean time, he pressed the French ministry to secure by treaty the order established in the Austrian succession; and they agreed to do it. Upon which, the elector of Bavaria, who thought he had a legitimate right to the succession of the Austrian dominions, in preference to the daughters of the emperor Charles VI. immediately implored the protection of France, who was at that time in possession of settling the contested rights of princes. The French ministry, so early as the year 1737, gave the emperor to understand, that by this guaranty they had no design to prejudice the claims of the house of Bavaria; and they put the emperor in mind, that in the year 1732, when he prevailed on the states of the empire to sign this pragmatic settlement, he had expressly declared himself, that he did not intend to injure the rights of any third person. They desired him to do justice to the house of Bavaria; and for that time went no further than making remonstrances. Those sparks which were soon to cause so general a combustion, lay concealed under the embers.

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At this time a profound tranquillity reigned in all parts of Christendom, if we except the disputes then arising betwixt England and Spain, about their American commerce. The French king was still considered as the arbitrator of the differences of Europe.

The emperor had engaged in a war against the Turks, without consulting the empire; this war proved unfortunate, but France saved him by her mediation. M. de Villeneuve, the French ambassador at the Porte, went to Hungary in 1739, to conclude a peace with the Grand Vizir, of which the emperor stood greatly in need.

Much about the same time the French restored the tranquillity of Genoa, which city was menaced with a civil war; they likewise subdued and softened the Corsicans, who had thrown off the yoke of Genoa. The country of Corsica, which a long time since has taken the title of a kingdom, had submitted, towards the end of the 13th century, to the Genoese, whose country is less extensive, and less warlike, but more opulent, than Corsica. The Corsicans, who had been always a stiff-necked people, were at that time in open rebellion, under pretence, that their privileges had been trampled upon, and this rebellion had lasted since 1725. A German gentleman, of the county of Marck, named *Theodore de Neuhauff*, having travelled in search of adventures, happened to be at Leghorn in 1736. There he opened a correspondence with the malecontents, and offered them his service. After they had agreed about matters, he embarked for
Tunis,

Tunis, where he negotiated in their name. Having obtained arms, ammunition, and money, with these supplies he landed in Corsica, and at length was proclaimed king of that island. The ceremony of his coronation was performed with laurel. He was acknowledged as sovereign in the greatest part of the island, where he continued to maintain the war. The senate of Genoa set a price upon Theodore's head; but finding they could neither assassinate him, nor reduce the Corsicans, they had recourse to the emperor for his assistance. This appeared a dangerous step; because this prince, looking upon himself as Lord Paramount of all Italy, acted as supreme judge betwixt Genoa and the rebels. The senate at length applied to France; who sent successively into that island, the Count of Boissieux, and the Marquis of Maillebois, afterwards Marshal of France. Theodore was expelled, the island was reduced, at least for some time, and the public tranquillity restored.

While France thus extended her benevolence to Genoa and Corsica, she was at the same time interposing her good offices between Spain and England, who were just entering into a sea war against each other, far more destructive than their respective claims were worth. The French court had even employed her mediation, in 1735, betwixt Spain and Portugal. None of her neighbours had reason to complain of her; but, on the contrary, all nations considered her as their mediatrix, and common mother.

CHAP. II.

Death of the emperor Charles VI. The succession disputed by four powers. The queen of Hungary proclaimed in all her father's dominions. Silesia invaded by the king of Prussia.

THE emperor Charles VI. died in the month of October 1740, at the age of fifty five. It is of importance to princes, on whose life depends the repose of nations, not to be ignorant that this monarch killed himself by a surfeit *, at an entertainment, which brought him to his grave, and the empire to the brink of ruin. If the death of the king of Poland, Augustus II. could cause such commotions, that of Charles VI. the last prince of the house of Austria, must needs produce far other revolutions. In the first place, Italy expected to become independent, a situation to which it had long aspired. A great many states, which were looked upon as fiefs of the empire, disclaimed this subjection. Rome especially, plundered by Charles V. severely treated by his successors, oppressed and fleeced by Joseph, brother of Charles VI. flattered herself with the hopes of being delivered from the pretensions of the German emperors, who, ever since Otho I. have imagined themselves successors to the rights of the ancient Cæsars. And indeed, the German chancery looks upon the other kingdoms of Europe as provinces dismembred from the

* He died of eating of mushrooms.

the empire ; in their protocol they give the title of majesty to no king whatever. The elector of Cologne styles himself chancellor of Italy ; and the elector of Triers takes the title of chancellor of Gaul. The German king, whom they chuse at Francfort, is declared king of the Romans, though he has not the least jurisdiction in Rome ; and he exacts a tribute of all the provinces of Italy, when he has forces sufficient to oblige them to pay it. Such a number of dubious and contested rights had been the source of all the calamities, and of the weakening of Italy, for the space of seven hundred years. It seemed therefore probable, that the confusion into which Germany was in danger of being thrown by the death of Charles VI. would set the Italians at that full liberty which they had so long desired. The new revolution which every body foresaw would follow from the extinction of the house of Austria, might not only annihilate the rights and the name of the Roman empire ; but it even appeared doubtful, whether Germany was not likely to be divided betwixt several princes, all so potent, as to find it difficult to acknowledge a supreme head, or at least to leave that head possessed of the same authority as his predecessors had enjoyed. It seemed therefore that the inheritance of the house of Austria could not possibly avoid being dismembered. This inheritance consisted of Hungary and Bohemia, kingdoms which had been long elective, but were rendered hereditary by the Austrian princes ; of Austrian Suabia, called *Austria Anterior* ; of the Upper and Lower Austria,

conquered in the 13th century ; of Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, the Burgaw, the four forest-towns, the Brisgaw, Friuli, Tyrol, the Milanese, the dukedoms of Mantua and Parma. With regard to Naples and Sicily, these two kingdoms were possessed by Don Carlos.

Mary Teresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI. founded her rights on the law of nature, which called her to her paternal inheritance, on the pragmatic sanction by which this law was confirmed, and on the guaranty of so many princes. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, demanded the succession in virtue of the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. brother of Charles V. By this will Ferdinand had, in default of male issue, instituted his eldest daughter, the archduchess Anne, heiress to his dominions : this princess was married to the duke of Bavaria ; from her the elector Charles was descended ; and there were no males left of the house of Austria.

Rights of a more recent nature were alledged by Augustus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony ; these were the rights of his wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, the elder brother of Charles VI. If Mary Teresa looked upon the pragmatic sanction as a sacred and inviolable law, the archduchess, queen of Poland, had another pragmatic sanction settled previously in her favour by the father of Joseph and of Charles ; who had made a regulation in 1702, that the daughters of Joseph should inherit preferably to the daughters of the younger brother Charles VI. in case the two brothers
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came to die without male-issue. After Charles ascended the imperial throne, he abolished this sanction; therefore they might set his aside after his death. His brother's daughters had been in his power, nor did he marry them till he made them renounce their rights; now, a renunciation of that kind might be considered as involuntary, and consequently null and void. On every side they pleaded rights of blood, testamentary dispositions, family-compacts, the laws of Germany, and the law of nations.

The king of Spain extended his pretensions to the whole succession of the house of Austria, by ascending to the wife of Philip II. daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. a princess from whom Philip V. was descended by the female line. It was indeed an extraordinary revolution in the affairs of Europe, to see the house of Bourbon laying claim to the whole inheritance of the house of Austria. Lewis XV. might pretend to this succession, by as just a title as any other prince, since he was descended in a direct line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by the wife of Lewis XIII. and likewise by the wife of Lewis XIV. But it was his business to act rather as an arbitrator and protector, than as a competitor; for by that means he had it in his power to determine the fate of this succession, and of the imperial throne, in concert with one half of Europe; whereas, had he entered the lists as a pretender, he would have had all Europe against him. This cause of so many crowned heads was pleaded by public memoirs, in every part of the Christian world;

there was not a prince, nor hardly a private person, that did not interest himself in the dispute, and nothing less was apprehended than a general war. But how greatly was human policy confounded, when the storm arose from a quarter where no body at all expected it !

In the beginning of this century the emperor Leopold, availing himself of the right which the German emperors had constantly attributed to themselves of creating kings, erected Ducal Prussia into a kingdom in the 1701, in favour of Frederic-William, elector of Brandenburg. At that time Prussia was only a large desert. But Frederick-William II. its second king, pursued a plan of politics different from most of the princes of his time: for he spent above five millions of livres in clearing the lands that were incumbered with wood, in building towns, and in filling them with inhabitants: he sent for families to Suabia and Franconia; he brought above sixteen thousand men from Saltzburg, and furnished them with all necessary implements of labour. In this manner, by forming a new state, and by extraordinary œconomy, he created, as it were, a power of another kind. He laid up constantly about sixty thousand German crowns, which, in a reign of twenty-eight years, amounted to an immense treasure. What he did not put into his coffers, he spent in raising and maintaining an army of fourscore thousand chosen men; whom he taught a new kind of discipline, though he did not employ them in the field. But his son Frederic III. made a proper use of his father's preparatives. Every body
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knew that this young prince, having been in disgrace in his father's reign, had employed his leisure-hours in the culture of his mind, and in improving those extraordinary talents which he had received of nature. Those talents, which indeed would have highly graced a private subject, the public saw and admired ; but they did not perceive his political, nor his military abilities ; so that the house of Austria entertained no more distrust of him, than of the late king of Prussia. He came to the crown three months before the succession of the house of Austria, and of the empire, was open. He foresaw the general confusion ; and upon the emperor's decease he did not lose a moment, but marched his army directly into Silesia, one of the richest provinces which the daughter of Charles VI. possessed in Germany. His pretensions were to four duchies, which his family had formerly acquired by purchases, and by acts of confraternity. His ancestors had renounced all their pretensions by repeated acts, because they were not in a condition to make them good ; but as the present king had power in his hands, he was resolved to maintain his rights.

By this time France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony, were all busying themselves about the election of an emperor. The elector of Bavaria solicited France to procure him at least a share of the Austrian succession. He laid claim indeed to the whole inheritance in his writings, but he durst not demand the whole by his ministers. Mary Teresa, however, the great duke of Tuscany's spouse, took possession immediately
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of all the dominions which had been left her by her father. The homages of the states of Austria she received at Vienna the 7th of November 1740; while Bohemia, and the provinces of Italy, swore allegiance by their deputies. But she particularly gained the affections of the Hungarians, by condescending to take the ancient coronation-oath of king Andrew II. made in 1222: "If I or any of my successors shall, at
" any time whatever, violate your privileges,
" be it permitted, in virtue of this promise,
" both to you and your descendents, to defend
" yourselves, without being liable to be treated
" as rebels."

The greater the aversion which the ancestors of the archduchess-queen had always shewn to the performance of such engagements, the more this prudent step endeared the queen to the Hungarians. This people, who had so often attempted to shake off the Austrian yoke, embraced that of Mary Teresa; and after they had been two hundred years engaged in seditions, quarrels and civil wars, they suddenly began to adore their sovereign. The queen was not crowned till some months after, *viz.* the 24th of June 1741; yet her authority was not the less complete. She had already gained the hearts of the whole nation by that popular affability, which her ancestors had seldom practised; and she had banished that ceremonious and fastidious air, which is apt to render princes odious, without procuring them the least respect. Her aunt, the archduchess, governess of the Netherlands, never admitted any body to her table: Mary
Teresa

Teresa dined with all the ladies and officers of distinction ; the deputies of the states accosted her freely ; she never refused audience, nor suffered any body to depart discontented from her presence.

Her first care was, to secure to the grand duke, her husband, a partnership of her crowns, under the name of *Co-regent*, without diminishing her sovereignty, or violating the pragmatic sanction. She mentioned it to the states of Austria the very day she received their oath, and soon after she compassed her design. This princess flattered herself in these beginnings, that the dignities with which she adorned the prince her husband, would have paved the way for the imperial throne ; but she had no money, and her troops were greatly diminished, and dispersed in different parts of her vast dominions.

The king of Prussia proposed to her at first, that she should yield the lower Silesia to him ; and he offered his whole credit, his assistance, his arms, with five millions of French livres, to guaranty the remainder of her dominions, and to settle the imperial crown upon her husband. Ministers of the greatest experience foresaw, that if the queen of Hungary refused such offers, Germany must be thrown into a total confusion. But the blood of so many emperors, which flowed through the veins of this princess, would not suffer her even to think of dismembering her patrimony. She was impotent, and yet intrepid. Numbers of Austrians, who saw only the outward grandeur, but not the weakness of the court of Vienna, publicly declared, that the e-
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lector of Brandenburg would be put under the ban of the empire in six months: Even the ministers of this prince were frightened at the sound of the Austrian name: but the king, who saw plainly that this power was at that time no more than a name, and that the state in which Europe then was would infallibly procure him allies, marched his army into Silesia, in the month of December 1740. They wanted to put this device on his standards, *Pro Deo & patria*. But he struck out *pro Deo*; saying, that it was not right thus to mix the name of God with the quarrels of men; and that his dispute was about a province, and not concerning religion. Before his regiment of guards he ordered the Roman eagle to be displayed in relief, on the top of a gilded staff; a step which laid him under the necessity of being invincible. He harangued his army, in order in every respect to resemble the ancient Romans. Entering Silesia, he made himself master of almost the whole province, of which they had refused him a part; but nothing as yet was decided. Marshal Neuperg marched an army of about twenty four thousand Austrians to the relief of the invaded province; and the king of Prussia found himself under a necessity of coming to an engagement at Molwitz, near the river Neiss. Then it was that the Prussian infantry shewed what they were able to perform. The king's cavalry, less strong by half than the Austrian, was entirely broke; the first line of his infantry was taken in flank; the battle was thought to be lost; all the king's baggage was pillaged; and this prince,
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in danger of being taken, was carried away by the croud that surrounded him : but his second line of infantry set every thing again to rights, by that unshaken discipline to which they are so well accustomed ; by their incessant fire, which is repeated at least five times in a minute, and by fixing their bayonets to their muskets in a moment. They gained the victory ; and this event became the signal of a general conflagration.

C H A P. III.

The king of France joins with the kings of Prussia and Poland, to raise Charles Albert, the elector of Bavaria, to the imperial throne.

ALL Europe imagined that the king of Prussia had acted in concert with France, when he first entred Silesia ; but they were mistaken, as we generally are, when we reason only from probabilities. The king of Prussia ran a very great risk, as he himself confessed ; but he foresaw that France would not miss so fine an opportunity of supporting him. It was visibly her interest to act against Austria, in favour of her ancient ally, the elector of Bavaria, whose father had been stripped of all his dominions for his alliance with France. After the battle of Hockstet, this very elector, Charles Albert, was made prisoner in his infancy by the Austrians, who had divested him even of his name of Bavaria ; and France might find her advantage in revenging his cause. It seemed no difficult matter to obtain the im-

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perial crown, and a part of the Austrian succession, for this prince. By this step the new house of Austria-Lorraine would be deprived of that superiority which the extinct family had affected over the other powers of Europe. This was abolishing the old competition betwixt the Bourbonists and the Austrians, and doing more than Henry IV. and cardinal Richelieu had ever presumed to expect.

At the time that Frederick III. set out for Silesia, he was the first that foresaw this revolution, though the foundations of it were not yet laid. This is so true, that he had concerted no measure at all with cardinal Fleury; that the marquis de Beauveau, who was sent by the king of France to Berlin, in order to compliment the new monarch, could not tell, when he saw the first motions of the Prussian troops, whether they were destined against France or Austria. King Frederick said to him, at his setting out upon this expedition, "I fancy I am going to play your game; if I throw aces, we will share between us." This was the only overture of the negotiation, which was yet at some distance. Cardinal Fleury was at that time in his eighty-fifth year, and unwilling to engage either his reputation, his old age, or his country, in a new war. He was deterred, moreover, by the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction, which the court of Versailles had lately signed and sworn to: but, on the other hand, he might have been encouraged to it by the preceding treaties with the house of Bavaria. It is very certain, that Paris and Versailles loudly demanded

ded this war, which was afterwards so greatly condemned. I heard a person of very great distinction say these very words: "Cardinal Richelieu pulled down the house of Austria; and cardinal Fleury, if possible, will erect a new one." These words, which were repeated to the minister, vexed him prodigiously; nor did he give way, till he could no longer resist those who were so eager for this expedition. Towards the end of December 1740, he charged the count of Belleisle to draw up a plan of the negotiations which were to be conducted in the empire, and of the war that was projected, in order to procure for Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, the imperial crown, and a part of the Austrian succession. The count demanded eight days; and, at the expiration of this term, he produced his scheme; of which he caused three copies to be drawn; one for the cardinal, another for the deposit of foreign affairs, and a third he kept himself.

If there could be any depending on the designs of man, never was there a project that bid fairer for success. The count, who was afterwards marshal duke de Belleisle, demanded only that fifty thousand French should pass the Rhine, before the month of June, to march towards the Danube. In this army he insisted that there should be at least twenty thousand horse; and, according to his custom, he entered into all the particulars of the march, and of the subsistence of the troops; in every page repeating, that it would be better to do nothing at all than to act by halves. They had near six months to prepare for a revolution, which

had been already begun by the king of Prussia in the middle of winter. Saxony seemed disposed to join with France and Prussia. The king of England, elector of Hanover, was to be forced to a neutrality by another army of forty thousand French, which should be ready to enter his German territories on the side of Westphalia; while the army under marshal Belleisle was to support Saxony, Prussia, and Bavaria, by advancing towards the Danube. The elector of Cologne at that time espoused the interest of his brother, the intended emperor. The old elector Palatine, who was to obtain for his heirs a renunciation from the king of Prussia, of that prince's rights to the duchess of Juliers and Bergues, through the protection of France, was more impatient than any body else to see the Bavarian elector on the imperial throne. In short, every thing contributed to his election. The imperial crown alone would have been an inconsiderable thing. They were to help the elector of Bavaria to take Austrian Suabia and Bohemia. They were likewise to join Spain in putting Don Philip, the son of Philip V. and son-in-law of Lewis XV. in possession of the Milanese and of Parma. In short, they made a division of part of Europe in 1741, as they had done in 1736, and as England and Holland, in conjunction with France, wanted to do before the death of Charles II. king of Spain.

Marshal Belleisle was sent to Francfort to the king of Prussia's camp, and to Dresden, in order to concert the vast projects, which, from the concurrence of so many princes, one would have ima-

imagined could not possibly miss. He agreed upon every point with the king of Prussia ; who has given him this character, that he never saw a man more fit for the cabinet, or for the field. From thence he went to Saxony, and prevailed in such a manner on the mind of the king of Poland, that this prince made his troops march, even before there was a treaty signed. Thus the marshal negotiated all over Germany ; he was the very soul of the grand confederacy, which was to procure the empire and hereditary crowns, for a prince who was able to do nothing of himself. France at the same time gave money, allies, votes, and armies, to the elector of Bavaria ; who had promised eight and twenty thousand of his troops, though with French money he had hardly twelve thousand. The king sent the army he had promised him ; and by letters patent *, made the same prince his lieutenant-general, whom he was going to make emperor of Germany.

The elector of Bavaria, strengthened by those succours, easily penetrated into Austria, while Mary Teresa was hardly able to make a stand against the king of Prussia †. He immediately made himself master of Passaw, an imperial city, subject to its bishop, and which separates the upper Austria from Bavaria. From thence he continued his march to Linz ‡, the capital of upper Austria. Parties made excursions to within three leagues of Vienna. The alarm was spread

* These letters were not sealed till the 20th of August 1741.

† July 31.

‡ August 15.

spread in this capital; they prepared in a hurry for a siege, destroying almost an entire suburb, and a palace, which was close to the fortifications. The Danube was covered with boats, full of costly moveables, which they were carrying to places of safety. The elector of Bavaria even sent a summons to count Kevenhuller, governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were far at that time from holding the balance, which they always pretended to have in their hands. The states-general were silenced at the sight of marshal Maillebois's army in Westphalia; and this same army had the same effect on the king of England, who was apprehensive for his Hanoverian dominions, where he then resided. He had raised an army of twenty five thousand men to assist Mary Teresa; but he was obliged to abandon her cause at the head of this very army which had been raised for her defence, and to sign a treaty of neutrality. His domestics made use of a passport of the general of the French army for part of his equipage, which he sent back to London, and whither he returned by the way of Westphalia and Holland. At that time there was not a single power, either within or without the empire, that supported this pragmatic sanction, which so many princes had guaranteed. Vienna, on the side threatened by the enemy, was very weak, and not likely to hold out long. Those who were best acquainted with Germany, and with public affairs, concluded, that as soon as Vienna was taken, the gate would be shut against the Hungarians, and of course
all

all the rest of her dominions would be open to the victorious arms of the allies, all pretensions would be regulated, and peace restored to the empire and to Europe.

The more the ruin of this princess seemed inevitable, the more courage she exerted. In this distress she left Vienna, and threw herself into the arms of the Hungarians, who had been so severely treated by her father, and by her ancestors. Having convened the four orders of the state at Presburg, she appeared in the assembly, holding her eldest son in her arms, almost yet in his cradle, and addressing herself to them in Latin, a language in which she expressed herself extremely well, she spoke to them almost in these words; " Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, attacked by my nearest relations, I have no resource left but in your fidelity, your courage, and my constancy. I commit to your hands the daughter and the son of your kings, who expect of you their safety." At this speech the Palatines were greatly moved, and drawing their sabres, they all cried out, *Moriamur pro Rege nostro Maria Theresia*; " Let us die for our king Mary Teresa." They always gave the title of king to their queen; and never was there a princess more deserving of this title. They wept when they took the oath to defend her: she alone appeared unconcerned; but as soon as she retired with her maids of honour, the tears ran plentifully down her cheeks. At that very time she was with child; and it was not long since she had wrote to her mother-in-law,

law, the duchess of Lorrain, "I know not whether I shall have a town left me to be brought to bed in."

Such was her distressed condition ; and in this condition she moved the Hungarians to pity. She excited England and Holland in her favour, so as to assist her with money ; she had agents in different parts of the empire ; she negotiated with the king of Sardinia, while her provinces furnished her with troops.

The whole English nation were animated in her defence. The English are not a people that wait for their prince's opinion to direct them. Even private people proposed a free gift to the queen of Hungary. The duchess of Marlborough, the widow of that general who had fought for Charles VI. contrived a meeting of the principal ladies in London, who engaged to give the queen of Hungary an hundred thousand pounds, and the duchess laid forty thousand of it down. The queen had the noble spirit not to accept of this money which was so generously offered her, chusing only what she expected of the nation assembled in parliament. It was thought that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would have laid siege to Vienna. One should always do what the enemy are apprehensive of ; and this was the king of Prussia's opinion. But whether the season appeared too far advanced, or whether they wanted to establish an equilibrium of power, between the houses of Bavaria and Austria, by leaving Vienna and Hungary to one, and the remainder of the German

man possessions to the other; they did not lay siege to Vienna, but turned towards Bohemia.

The French army, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, marched towards Prague; and in the way were joined by twenty thousand Saxons, in the month of November 1741. Count Maurice of Saxony, natural brother of the king of Poland, scaled the town. This general, who had the same extraordinary strength of body as his father, with the same gentle disposition, and the same valour, was possessed of far superior abilities in the art of war. From his reputation he had been chosen duke of Courland, by the unanimous voice of the nation; but Russia having deprived him of the benefit of this election, he comforted himself for his loss in the service of France, and in the social pleasures of that nation, who were not as yet sufficiently acquainted with his merit.

To form an idea of the character of count Saxe, whose name will be handed down to posterity, it is sufficient to mention, that being accused at that time, by some persons about the king of Prussia, of having entered into those little quarrels which commonly set the generals of allied armies at variance, he wrote to general Schmittau the following words; "Those who know me will allow, that I am much fitter to enter the lists with an enemy, than to spin an intrigue."

They were now under a necessity of taking Prague in a few days, or of abandoning the enterprise. They wanted provisions, and the season was far advanced; and this great city, though

but ill fortified, was still able to withstand their first attacks. General Ogilvi, a native of Ireland, who commanded in the town, had a garison of three thousand men; the grand duke made what haste he could to his assistance with an army of thirty thousand, and was arrived within five leagues of Prague, the 25th of November. But that very night the French and Saxons stormed the town.

They made two attacks with a terrible fire of their artillery, which drew the whole garison that way. In the mean time count Saxe silently applied a single ladder to a part of the town, very remote from the attack; the ladder was too short, so that they were obliged to lengthen it with hand-barrows. Monsieur de Chevert, at that time lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Beauce, was the first that mounted; marshal Broglio's eldest son followed him; they got upon the rampart, and found, at some little distance, only a single centinel; the rest followed in crouds, and made themselves masters of the town. The garison laid down their arms, and Ogilvi surrendred himself prisoner of war with his three thousand men. Count Saxe preserved the city from pillage; and what was very extraordinary, the conquerors and the conquered were mixed pell mell together for three days, French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians, without knowing one another, and without one drop of blood being spilt.

The elector of Bavaria, who was just come to the camp, gave the king an account of this success, as a general would write to a prince whose

whose armies he commanded. He made his public entry into Prague the very day it was taken, and was crowned in the month of December. In the mean time the grand duke, finding it impossible for his army to subsist in the neighbourhood of Prague, retired to the southern part of the province, and left to his brother, prince Charles of Lorrain, the command of the army.

During these transactions, the king of Prussia was making himself master of Moravia, a province situated betwixt Bohemia and Silesia; so that Mary Teresa seemed to be overpowered on all sides. Her competitor, who had been already crowned archduke at Lintz, and had taken the crown of Bohemia at Prague, was set out for Francfort to receive the imperial crown under the name of Charles VII. All the electors had suspended the vote of Bohemia, while the queen of Hungary was in possession of that province, pretending that a woman had no right of suffrage. As the duke of Bavaria was master of Prague at the time of his election to the imperial dignity, he might have availed himself of the vote of Bohemia; but having no need of it, he suffered this vote to remain inactive.

Marshal Belleisle, who followed him from Prague to Francfort, seemed rather one of the first electors, than an ambassador of France. He had canvassed all the electors, and directed every negotiation; he received the honours due to the representative of a king, who gave away the imperial crown. The elector of Mentz, who presides at the election, gave him the right hand in his palace; while the ambassador gave the

right hand to the electors only, and took place of all the other princes. His full powers were delivered in the French tongue to the German chancery, which had hitherto required these instruments to be presented in Latin, as the language of a government which assumes the title of the Roman empire. Charles Albert was elected the 4th of January 1742, in the most peaceable, and the most solemn manner; so that he then seemed to be at the highest pitch of felicity and glory. But fortune soon changed, and his very elevation rendred him one of the most unhappy princes upon earth.

They now began to be sensible of the fault they had committed, in not having a sufficient body of cavalry. Marshal Belleisle was sick at Francfort; nor could he at the same time manage the negotiations, and command a distant army. A misunderstanding insensibly arose among the allied powers; the Saxons complained of the Prussians; the latter of the French; and these of them all. The queen of Hungary maintained her cause by her constancy; by money received from England, Holland, and Venice; by loans in Flanders; and especially by the desperate ardour of her troops, which she had at length assembled from all quarters. The French armies were wasting away by fatigues, by sickness and desertion, and found a difficulty in recruiting. It did not fare with them as with the armies of Gustavus Adolphus, who, having begun his expedition in Germany with less than ten thousand men, soon found himself at the head of thirty thousand, increasing his troops in the enemy's country,

country, in proportion to the progress of his arms. The French army, which should have been forty-five thousand strong when it entered Bohemia, consisted only of thirty-two thousand effective men when it set out from France. In this number there ought to have been twenty thousand horse, whereas there never were eight thousand. Thus every day the French diminished, and the Austrians increased. Prince Charles of Lorraine, the grand duke's brother, was in the heart of Bohemia, with thirty-five thousand men. The country was entirely of his side, when he began a defensive war with success, by continually alarming the enemy, by cutting off their convoys, and by harassing them on every side with clouds of Hussars, Croatians, Pandours, and Talpashes. The Pandours are Slavonians inhabiting the banks of the Drave and the Save; they wear a long coat with pistols stuck in their belt, a sabre, and a poniard. The Talpashes are an Hungarian infantry, armed with a fusil, two pistols, and a sabre. The Croatians, whom the French call *Cravates*, are the militia of Croatia. The Hussars are Hungarian cavalry, mounted on very small horses, that are light and indefatigable; they harass and destroy the troops dispersed in different parts, and not properly supported by cavalry; which was every where the case of the troops of France and Bavaria. The elector thought a small body of men sufficient to preserve a vast extent of country, which the queen of Hungary was not supposed to be in a condition of recovering. It is easy to condemn the operations of war when they prove un-

unfortunate, but it is not so easy to foresee those misfortunes. However, marshal Belleisle had long forewarned the court of France in all his letters from Francfort.

“ They have left troops behind them,” said he, “ in the Upper Austria, whose retreat will be infallibly cut off.” He wrote to Monsieur de Breteuil, at that time secretary of state in the department of war, the 17th of December 1741, in the following terms ; “ I cannot help dwelling on this important point: I can assure you, that the misfortune I foresee will happen : the first source of our disasters must certainly arise from the mixture of nations, and from the dispersion of the troops.” The marshal was taken ill at Francfort, towards the end of November. His first care was then, to write to court, that they should by all means send a general to command the armies. In consequence of which, as early as the 8th of December, they gave orders to marshal Broglio, an old officer, bred under marshal Villars, and celebrated for some signal exploits, to set out from Strasburg. At his arrival in Bohemia, he found the victors imbarassed with their conquests, and the Austrians settled in all the different parts of the southern part of Bohemia ; while Upper Austria was guarded only by fifteen thousand Bavarians, and eight or nine thousand French. Count Kevenhuller governor of Vienna appeared suddenly in those quarters, with the garisons of the towns left behind him, with the troops recalled from Italy, and with twenty thousand Hungarians. At that time count Segur, a lieutenant-general,

ral, was in Lintz, an open town, where the elector of Bavaria had left only about eight thousand men. Kevenhuller advanced with an army of thirty thousand, under the command of the grand duke. The only measure then to be taken, was to retire; but the elector ordered count Segur to defend what was not tenible. The French barricadoed themselves, and prepared to withstand even the most violent attacks, in hopes of some diversion being made by the troops of Bavaria: but the latter were beaten and dispersed; and instead of relieving Lintz, they lost Scharding.

The great duke came then in person before Lintz, and summoned the French to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Upon their refusal, he made his troops advance, with fire-brands in their hands; and burnt part of his own town, for the sake of burying the French in its ruins. A deputation was undertaken by M. Duchatel, a lieutenant-general, who is lately dead with all the reputation that valour, sense, and probity can give. The great duke told him, that he insisted on their surrendering themselves prisoners of war. "Well," said M. Duchatel, "you may begin again to burn the town, and we shall begin again to fire." The prince grew more moderate; and it was agreed at length, that the French should march out with all military honours, and not serve for a whole year.

After this first success, the Hungarians rapidly advanced to Passaw, and retook it. From thence they overspread Bavaria on the side of Austria; while the Austrians entered this electorate on the
side

side of Tyrol, and ravaged it from one end to the other. Scarce had a common partisan, whose name was Mentzel, a fellow known by his brutality and his depredations, made his appearance before Munich with his hussars, when the metropolis of Bavaria surrendered by capitulation. All these events followed close to one another, while at Francfort they were preparing for the coronation of the elector of Bavaria. To conclude the scene, the same day, that he was chosen emperor, he heard that he had lost Lintz; and soon after, that he had neither capital nor territories left.

C H A P. IV.

The misfortunes of the emperor Charles VII. continued. The battle of Sahay. The French are deserted by the Prussians, and afterwards by the Saxons. The army under marshal Maillebois marches into Bohemia to no purpose. Marshal Belleisle saves the army shut up in Prague.

Fortune became as contrary to the Bavarian emperor in Bohemia, as in Upper Austria and Bavaria. His fate was so much the harder, as things still bore a favourable aspect in Bohemia; and the good situation of his allies seemed to render them greatly superior, so as to be able to oblige the enemy to quit his dominions. For, on the one side, count Saxe had taken Egra, within five and twenty leagues of Prague, and thus Bohemia was held by the two extremities; and

and on the other, the king of Prussia had gained a victory over prince Charles, near Czaſlaw, in the heart of Bohemia, whither he had penetrated with his army.

The Saxons were likewise in a condition of supporting him, and might aſſiſt in preſerving the conqueſts which the French armies had made in conjunction with their allies, in favour of the common cauſe. In the miſt of theſe ſeeming advantages, marſhal Belleiſle, who was recovered of his illneſs, ſet out from Francfort for the French army, commanded by marſhal Broglio; and found the Auſtrians at Sahay, near Frauemburg, upon the road to Prague. Theſe two generals did not agree well in their notions; but their zeal for the public ſervice united them. That night they lay on the ſame matreſs, and the next day they fought one of the ſharpeſt and moſt glorious battles in the whole war; if glory is annexed to ſmall events well conducted, and intrepidly ſupported, as well as to more deciſive engagements. Six hundred carabineers, and three hundred dragoons, with the marquis de Mirepoix and the duke de Chevreuſe at their head, attacked and defeated a body of two thouſand five hundred curiaſſiers, commanded by prince Lobkowitz, though the latter were well poſted, and defended themſelves with great bravery.

The duke de Chevreuſe received three wounds in this engagement. The duke de Broglio, and all the officers, ſet an example to the ſoldiers. M. de Malesieux eſpecially, who was major of the carabineers, drew them up in ſuch a manner

as contributed greatly to the success of the day; the count de Berenger did great service with the brigade of Navarre. This was not a great battle, but a trial of skill between the Austrian and the French generals, wherein each combatant did wonders, and by which the French troops received more honour than real advantage. All this bravery was thrown away; and they might have perceived, notwithstanding this seeming success, that the pit was dug, and they were tumbling into it.

The king of Prussia, dissatisfied with marshal Broglie, had wrote him a very slighting letter, after his victory of Czaflaw, wherein he added a postscript with his own hand: "I am quit
" with my allies, for my troops have just now
" obtained a compleat victory. It is your business to make what advantage you can of it
" immediately, otherwise you may be answer-
" able to your allies." No body comprehended the meaning of these words, *I am quit with my allies*. Marshal Broglie wrote to court, that the king of Prussia might have made use of more obliging terms, and that this prince did not understand French. But he understood it very well, and it was an easy matter to comprehend his meaning.

This monarch remained in a state of inaction after the battle of Czaflaw, and they could not conceive what he meant by this inaction. There was no advantage taken of the little battle of Sahay; in short the troops wanted subsistence. The loss of a whole kingdom may sometimes depend on the too great distance of a magazine,
and

and on the scarcity of a single article of provisions. The recruits which were expected from France came too late ; the troops under the command of marshal Broglio were so far diminished, that, at a review, of forty-six battalions, which should have made very near thirty thousand men, they reckoned no more then twelve thousand.

The remainder of the army was dispersed in different posts, while prince Charles of Lorrain and prince Lobkowitz were reuniting their forces. To complete the misfortunes of the French, there was as little harmony between their generals as between the allies. Had the Prussians acted in concert with the French and the Saxons, it appears beyond all doubt, that as they were in possession of Prague, of Egra, and of the northern part of Bohemia, and moreover, victorious at Czaflaw and at Sahay, they must have continued masters of Bohemia. Marshal Belleisle, to whom the king of Prussia wrote every day with the greatest degree of intimacy, and rather as a friend than as a crowned head, waited on this monarch the 5th of June in his camp, in order to settle every thing that might contribute to the success of the common cause. The king told him in these very words: "I give you warning, that prince Charles is advancing towards M. de Broglio ; and that if you do not improve the advantage you had at Sahay, I shall forthwith conclude a separate peace."

And indeed it was very near a twelvemonth since this prince had been upon the point of coming

ming to an agreement with the queen of Hungary ; the negotiations had been renewed at Breslau, and at the Hague ; in short the articles of the treaty had been drawn up, and they wanted nothing but signing. The sure way to preserve an ally, is to be able to do without him : but marshal Broglio's army was far from being in this happy situation ; for it was daily wasting by sickness and desertion.

The French were driven from all their posts ; they lost all their ammunition and provisions, part of which was plundered by their own soldiers, and the other part by the enemy. Prince Charles passed the Moldaw, and pursued a detachment under M. de Aubigne, which was retiring in disorder. From thence he followed the French troops to Thein, to Piseck, and from Piseck to Pilsen, and to Beraun. These retreats cost the French as many men at least as a battle, and besides it dispirited the troops. The hussars perpetually harrassed them in their precipitate marches ; their equipages were plundered ; and every Frenchman that strayed from his corps, was sure to be butchered. In the midst of this disorder of so many detached bodies flying from before the enemy, marshal Broglio saved the army, by making a stand with about ten thousand men against prince Charles's whole arm, by putting a deep rivulet between the prince and him, by stealing a march, and at length by retiring towards Prague with his whole army. All this was admirably conducted, yet did not at all contribute to re-establish his affairs. While he was exerting his endeavours to prevent his
troops

troops from being destroyed by the united armies of prince Charles and prince Lobkowitz, he was deserted by the king of Prussia. The first disasters of the French in Bavaria and Bohemia were the cause of the treaty's being drawn, and the latter of its being signed the 11th of June 1742. The king of Prussia had taken up arms at a proper time, in order to make an easy conquest of Silesia; and he was willing to lay them down at a proper time, in order to preserve the largest and the richest part of that province, as far as the river Neiss.

The queen of Hungary, after having had it in her power fifteen months before, to obtain troops and money of the king of Prussia, to prevent the war, and to put the imperial crown on her husband's head, if she would only have resigned a part of this province, thought herself very lucky in yielding much more to Prussia, than he had asked at first, while she obtained nothing of him in return. She likewise granted him the county of Glatz; yet, though she did not make an ally of this prince, she was for some time delivered from a very formidable enemy.

In this treaty the emperor was deserted, nor was the least mention made of France. One of the conditions of the peace was, That Saxony should be comprehended in it, provided their troops withdrew from the French within sixteen days from the publication of the treaty.

The Saxon army withdrew before the time prescribed; and the French remained the only protectors of the emperor, and the only troops exposed

exposed to danger. Francfort, where this prince had been crowned, served for his asylum. In vain did marshal Belleisle, though infirm, post away from the king of Prussia's camp to the court of Dresden ; in vain did marshal Broglio assemble his scattered troops, which were now considerably recruited. There was very little subordination in his army ; they found themselves in a strange country, without allies, and without succours : they had to fight against prince Charles, who was superior in numbers, and beloved by the army and by the people. The advantage of speaking the language of the country which has the misfortune of being the seat of war, is also very great ; you receive intelligence oftener and sooner ; the national troops are always favoured, and the foreigners are betrayed.

There was another inconveniency, which alone is sufficient to destroy any army or state. Marshal Belleisle, who arrived at Prague from Dresden towards the end of the month of June, had the commission of general in Bohemia ; and marshal Broglio, who had under him, in the neighbourhood of Prague, part of the battalions designed for Bavaria, wanted to preserve his command, as being the oldest marshal. Thus there were two generals, while the principal officers did not know whom to obey. But cardinal Fleury continued the command to marshal Belleisle. While they remained in this dubious and dangerous situation, the king's service did not suffer much ; a thing still more extraordinary than this division of authority.

The French, thus deserted by their allies,
were

were still in possession of the place of the greatest importance among all their conquests. But whilst Bohemia was the theatre of these revolutions, the Hungarians, still masters of the capital of Bavaria, lorded it over the people with all the licentiousness and cruelty of an unbridled soldiery. The city of Munich was obliged to pay the heaviest contributions; the neighbouring villages were plundered, and the people driven to despair. The king of France did not forsake the emperor; but while he kept Prague and Egra for him, he sent the duke of Harcourt to relieve Bavaria, with an army of about fifteen thousand men. This diversion set Munich for a minute or two at liberty.

The Austrian general, Count Kevenhuller, had assembled his troops, and withdrawn from Munich so early as the month of April. The inhabitants, highly incensed against the garison, knocked numbers of them down as they were marching out; then they shut the gates of Munich, which was almost an open town, and intrenched themselves in this situation. But some days after, they were obliged to surrender a second time, and to deliver up their arms. This cost the lives of a great many citizens, who were massacred by the Pandours; while others got off by surrendering part of their property. The Bavarian troops were always beaten; and it was as much as the duke of Harcourt could do, to maintain himself along the Danube against a superior enemy. But all Europe had then its eyes upon Prague, where the two French marshals had, after so many disasters, assembled about

bout eight and twenty thousand effective men, either in the town, or under the walls. Prince Charles of Lorrain appeared before this city the 27th of June 1742, with an army of about forty-five thousand men; and general Festitz brought him eighteen thousand Hungarians, who had been employed in Silesia, and who, by the late peace with the king of Prussia, were let loose against the French.

No instance as yet had been seen of an army of sixty thousand men besieging another army of twenty eight thousand: but the more numerous the garison, and the more populous the town, the more it was with reason presumed, that they must want ammunition and provisions. The queen of Hungary used all possible endeavours to recover this capital; she gave every horse in her stables to carry the artillery and ammunitions for the siege of Prague; the lords of her court followed her example, or paid for the waggoners horses in money. The more this court had been exhausted, the more their hopes began to revive.

The queen had made herself an Amazonian habit, in order to enter Prague on horseback in triumph, at the head of her victorious army. So sure were they in all parts of the queen of Hungary's dominions of taking Prague in a very little time, that a general of the Austrian Netherlands sent a servant from Brussels to Prague, in order to get the first information of the taking of that city.

The French minister ordered marshal Belleisle to offer to evacuate the town, provided the queen

queen would permit all the French troops in Bohemia to retire, and the Austrians on their side evacuated Bavaria. This proposal seemed to be the preliminary of a general peace: but the Austrians were far from accepting of it; for, in the second conference, marshal Konigseck declared to marshal Belleisle, that the queen, his mistress, expected that the whole French army should surrender themselves prisoners of war. In Prague almost every thing was wanting, except courage. Towards the end of July butchers meat cost four livres a-pound; horses flesh was served up at the very best tables; and, from the scarcity of forage, above fourteen thousand horses were obliged to be killed, or to be left to the enemy. The dukes de Biron, de Chevreuse, de Luxembourg, de Bouffler, de Fleury; the Count de Clermont-Tonnere, colonel-general of the horse, and M. de Sechelles, intendant of the army, sent their plate to the mint at Prague, in order to ease both the officers and soldiers.

To be thus distant from their native soil, in the midst of a people whose language they did not understand, and by whom they were hated; to be exposed to all sorts of want, without being sure of receiving any relief; in short, to have no other subject of conversation than their past mistakes and present danger; this was the state of the French in Prague. The Austrians battered their intrenchments with an hundred pieces of cannon, and thirty-six mortars; but, having no good engineers, they proceeded very slowly in their works. The branches of their trenches were too long and too wide, and the

French benefited by these mistakes. They made sallies every day ; but that of the 22d of August was the most memorable, being a down-right battle. The besieged, to the number of twelve thousand, attacked the besiegers, made themselves masters of a battery of cannon, took two hundred prisoners, filled up the works, took general Monti, killed fifteen hundred men, and wounded above two thousand. In this action the duke de Biron, the prince des Deux Ponts, brother of the reigning duke, and the prince de Beauveau, were wounded. The marquis de Tesse, chief equerry to the queen, and his lieutenant-colonel, were slain near to each other. The marquis de Clermont, colonel of the regiment of Auvergne, and the marquis de Molac, colonel of Berry, also lost their lives.

This memorable engagement cost very dear, but surprised the Austrians. They never would venture to carry any of those feeble works, which did not so much as merit the name of fortifications, but contented themselves with firing from their batteries, though to no manner of purpose, and without ever making the least breach ; so that the town was rather invested than besieged. And yet the loss of all the French troops, both in Prague and Egra, seemed to be inevitable in the long-run. There was only one resource left. This was, to send to their assistance that very army of about forty thousand men, who, under the command of marshal Maillebois, had compelled the king of England to sign an apparent neutrality, and who kept Holland and Hannover in awe : but this army was two hundred leagues

leagues from Prague. This expedition was proposed by the marquis de Fenelon, ambassador in Holland. It had its inconveniencies; but it was also attended with its advantages. The French were then in the most perplexed situation. Though their country is able to raise and to maintain three hundred thousand men for above ten years, without exhausting itself; yet there were hardly more than twenty thousand at that time in the heart of the kingdom. They had sent at different intervals into Germany the better part of two hundred and twelve squadrons, and one hundred and seventeen battalions, which had been recruited from time to time. These troops, which were dispersed at Prague, at Egra, in Bavaria, and in the Upper Palatinate, were above half of them wasted away. Count Saxe, who commanded in Bavaria, wrote to court, that he had not an hundred and fifty men to a battalion.

To relieve, and to disengage these dispersed, these weakned, and almost annihilated armies, the expedient was thought of sending marshal Maillebois's fine army, consisting of forty-one battalions, and sixty-five squadrons, three thousand Palatines, three thousand Hessians, with three independent companies of infantry, and two of dragoons. It was obvious, that if all these troops had acted together in one body, when assisted by Prussia and Saxony, they would infallibly have carried their point. On the other hand, if the army under marshal Maillebois was to move from the banks of the Rhine, and to penetrate into Bohemia, the kingdom would be

left naked; and then even the Dutch alone might be formidable, so as to insult the French frontiers with forty thousand men. It is true, the marquis de Fenelon answered for the neutrality of the States-general; but the king of England might enter Flanders with a powerful army. Upon this occasion the oldest and the ablest generals were consulted. The marshal de Puissègur represented the difficulties and the dangers; marshal Noailles acknowledged both, but insisted on the necessity of the undertaking. Marshal d'Asfeld was of the same opinion. And the king determined on this hazardous, but necessary step, sensible that great exploits cannot be achieved without running great risks.

They were still greatly puzzled to settle the route of this army, and the scene of its operations. The emperor Charles VII. wanted to employ it in his electoral dominions, where he should command it in person. The reason he gave in writing was, that by delivering Bavaria from her enemies, Prague would be set free; and that the Austrians would infallibly raise the siege as soon as Maillebois's army reached the banks of the Danube. But the French ministry could not place their last resource in the hands of an emperor who had so poorly defended his own territories against the Austrians. Cardinal Fleury wrote to him to dissuade him from it; and the only reason he gives, in his letter of the 19th of August, is couched in these terms: "How would it become an emperor to appear at the head of our armies, without an equipage suitable to his dignity?" This was a
strange

strange reason indeed, which very little agreed with the six millions of livres that the king of France gave the emperor annually. Marshal Maillebois wanted to lead his army into Bavaria, where he expected to find greater plenty of provisions than on the barren defiles of Bohemia. Marshal Puisegur, perceiving it absolutely necessary that this army should march, was of opinion that it should go at least where marshal Maillebois wanted to lead it; but the great object of entering Bohemia prevailed. The cardinal's intention was, that Maillebois's army should give spirits to all the rest of the king's troops.

In the mean time, this minister essayed every method of accommodation. He took care to sound king George II. who had been obliged the preceding year to remain neuter in a cause which the English had at heart. He flattered himself with the hopes of some success in the way of negotiation; but the time was past. The celebrated Sir Robert Walpole, who had been intrusted with the direction of the public affairs in England under king George I. and the present king, had been lately compelled by the nation to resign his employments, because he was of a pacific disposition. His greatest enemies agreed, that never minister knew better how to manage those great trading companies, which are the basis of the credit of England, nor better how to conduct affairs in parliament: but his greatest friends at the same time allowed, that no minister before him had more use of the public money in parliamentary influence. He made

made no secret of this himself; for the author of these memoirs heard him say, "There is a drug with which we remove all bad humours, and it is sold only in my shop." These words, which shew no elevation of style or of understanding, were expressive of his character. War was never his taste. He always thought it would be the period of his power. "I can undertake," he used to say, "to manage a parliament in time of peace; but I cannot answer to do it in time of war." Cardinal Fleury had often profited by this timidity, and therefore preserved a superiority in his negotiations. This is what the party that opposed Sir Robert Walpole laid to his charge. They continually complained of his dilatoriness in declaring war against Spain: a strange sort of crime, in having desired to continue peace to a trading nation.

This party was made up not only of the Tories, who are always enemies of the Whigs; but was moreover a coalition of Whigs and Tories, equally dissatisfied, because they were determined to be so. This faction was called the *country-party*, in opposition to that which went by the name of *the court-party*: a division not unlike to that which has been always in Poland, and what we have lately beheld in Sweden. For, in all states, the ministry are the object of jealousies and complaints; and though in absolute monarchies these evaporate into empty murmurs, yet they become downright factions in mixed governments.

The country-party complained loudly, that king George II. had sacrificed, by his treaty of neu-

neutrality, the glory of Great-Britain to the preservation of Hanover. At the same time they laid the whole blame upon Sir Robert, who had no share in this necessary and transient treaty, which was made only to be broke. Long before this, they had attacked this minister in open parliament. Mr Sandys, member then of the house of commons, said these words publicly, the 23d of February 1741. "Get ready, for in three days time I shall impeach you." "I accept the challenge," replied the minister, "provided we fight honourably." And at the same time he quoted this verse out of Horace ;

Nil conficere sibi ; nulla pallescere culpa.

Accordingly, on the day appointed, his accuser made a motion in the house of commons, to address his Majesty to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his council, and from his presence. At the same time, my Lord Carteret made the same motion in the house of peers. And the question was debated in both houses till midnight.

This was a manifest injustice, to want to punish a man, before he had been convicted of having deserved it. However, that which sometimes happens, happened then. The right side of the question carried it in both houses, and Sir Robert maintained his ground still for some time. But at the expiration of the seven years, during which the representatives of the people have a right to sit in parliament, new members being chosen, and the country-party growing stronger, the minister, who had stood his ground

twenty

twenty years against such a number of enemies, saw, that he must be obliged to lay down *. The king made him a peer of Great Britain, by the title of earl of Orford; and three days after he resigned all his employments. Upon this they commenced a parliamentary prosecution against him: they insisted on his giving an account of about thirty millions of livres, which he had expended in ten years secret services; among which they reckoned twelve hundred thousand livres given to political writers, or to those who had employed their pens in the service of the minister. The king, incensed at this accusation, eluded their pursuit, by proroguing the parliament, that is, by suspending its sitting, in virtue of the royal prerogative.

The person who then gained the upper hand was this very Lord Carteret, who had made the motion against Sir Robert in the house of peers. The king employed this nobleman in order to convince the nation that he was as much inclined to war as they: so that the better to govern them, he favoured their passions.

Lord Carteret, who had been formerly secretary of state, and afterwards lord lieutenant of Ireland, was one of the most learned men in England. He spoke several living languages, especially French and Spanish, extremely well; was bold, artful, active, indefatigable, prodigal of the public money upon occasions; and as inclined to war through pleasure and taste, as Walpole had been inclined to peace. He did not get into Sir Robert's place, which is that of high treasurer

* January 19. 1741.

treasurer under another title ; but resumed his ancient post of secretary of state for the northern provinces ; and immediately he came into higher credit than had ever fallen to Sir Robert's share.

The cardinal made some overtures to this minister concerning an accommodation, and even went so far as to propose the mediation of Great Britain. But all the answer my lord Carteret made him was, to engage the parliament to grant money to the king for the raising of troops ; for taking the Hanoverian forces into pay ; for granting subsidies to Denmark and to Hesse Cassel, who were always ready to sell men to both parties ; for augmenting the subsidies of the queen of Hungary ; for entering into an alliance with the king of Sardinia, and maintaining his army ; for conducting a conspiracy at Naples ; and for sending fleets to the Mediterranean and to America. He formed also a scheme of procuring the bishopricks of Osnaburg and Hildersheim to be yielded to the elector of Hanover in full property ; and, in short, of making his master the umpire of both hemispheres.

At the same time that cardinal Fleury addressed himself to so imperious a court, he applied also to the very general that was actually besieging Prague. He wrote to field-marshal Konigseck a letter, dated the 11th of July, which was delivered him by marshal Belleisle ; wherein he excused himself in regard to the war that had been undertaken, alledging, that he had been carried away by the torrent contrary to his own inclination. " It is known," said he, " to a great
K " many,

“ many, how strongly I opposed the resolution
“ we have taken, and that I was in some mea-
“ sure forced to consent to it. Your excellency
“ is too well acquainted with what has passed,
“ not to guess at the person who set every en-
“ gine at work, to determine the king to enter
“ into a confederacy, so contrary to my inclinati-
“ on and to my principles.” All the answer
the queen of Hungary ordered to be made was,
to print the cardinal’s letter. It is easy to see
what bad effects this letter must have produced.
In the first place, it threw the whole blame of the
war on the very general who was employed to
negotiate with count Konigseck ; and to render
his person odious, was not the way to facilitate
the success of his negotiation. In the second place,
it was in some measure acknowledging the weak-
ness of the ministry ; and it implied a very slender
knowledge of mankind not to foresee, that
this weakness would be made a handle of, that
the allies of France would grow indifferent, and
her enemies more intractable.

The cardinal, seeing his letter printed, wrote
a second, wherein he complained to the Austrian
general of the publication of his letter ; and told
him, “ that he should not be hereafter so for-
“ ward to write to him.” This second letter
did him more harm than the first. He denied
them both in some public papers ; and this de-
nial, by which no body indeed was deceived,
crowned all those imprudent steps, which less
severe judges were apt to excuse in a man who
was eighty-seven years of age, and tired with
disappointments. At length, the emperor made
pro-

proposals of peace to the court of London, and especially those very secularisations of bishopricks in favour of Hanover. The English minister did not think he wanted the emperor's assistance to obtain these bishopricks, and insulted that prince's offers by rendering them public. The consequence was, that the emperor disowned his proposals of peace, as cardinal Fleury had disowned the war.

The dispute now grew warmer than ever. France on the one hand, and England on the other, who were really principals under the name of auxiliaries, endeavoured to hold the European balance with sword in hand. Towards the spring of 1742, the court of England sent into Flanders, sixteen thousand English, sixteen thousand Hanoverians, and six thousand Hessians; who, in conjunction with fifteen thousand Austrians, composed a formidable army. They were commanded by the earl of Stair, an officer formed under the duke of Marlborough, and afterwards ambassador in France, in 1715.

Before England struck a blow, she wanted to drag Holland into this quarrel; but the States, adhering strictly to the treaties, by which they were only bound to supply the queen of Hungary with money, would not as yet furnish any quota of troops. Holland was then divided into two parties, one desirous of preserving peace, and the other impatient for war: a third, at that time not so well known, but which was gaining ground every day, wished for a change of government, and a Stadtholder. But this party durst not as yet declare themselves openly before

the other two. The love of liberty still prevailed over gratitude to the blood of the Nassaus, and over the intrigues of the prince of Orange. These principles, this division of minds, and this dilatoriness, so common to republics, when they are not threatened by some pressing danger, prevented the Dutch from joining their forces to those of the queen of Hungary and of the king of Great Britain.

The parties, which at that time divided the republic, seemed to be founded rather on difference of opinion, than on violence of faction. That spirit of sedition, which, in almost a similar case, had been the cause of DeWit's being massacred by the people, seemed to be extinct. The grandson of the pensionary De Wit, who, like him, opposed the war, walked quietly on foot to the council. They never had one tumultuous deliberation: but on the other hand, they had no determinate project; and, when the States had taken a resolution to augment their troops with twenty thousand men at all events, not one of the regency could tell, whether they were determined for a war.

Lord Carteret went over to the Hague, in order to hurry them into this measure. Lord Stair, who commanded the English army at Brussels, repaired likewise to the same place with the same view. The duke of Aremberg, as eager as any, backed them with his vague solicitations. My lord Stair had an army that was able to penetrate into France without their assistance: for, reckoning the Austrians, they were above eighty thousand men. He wanted to take
Dunkirk,

Dunkirk, whose fortifications were weak on the land-side, from the nature of the soil, which is all sand. It is very certain, that in France they were under apprehensions for Dunkirk. The English, who were continually proclaiming at the Hague, that the French had restored the fortifications of that harbour, used every endeavour to excite the Dutch to join with them in demanding satisfaction for this pretended infraction of the treaty of Utrecht. Marshal Puisegur advised cardinal Fleury, to propose sequestering Dunkirk into the hands of the States-general till the conclusion of a peace. Such a proposal, which was frank and artful at the same time, ought to have engaged the Dutch to behave as mediators, and not as enemies. The proposal was made them by the marquis of Fenelon: but though the English party had not as yet authority sufficient to force Holland into a war, yet they had such influence as to hinder their accepting an honour, which would necessarily have rendered them neuter. In the mean time, the allied army at Brussels might have penetrated into France: but the king of England wanted to temporise, and to wait till Holland had fully determined; which was one of the greatest mistakes committed during this whole war. I was at that time myself witness of the amazement and concern of my lord Stair, who said, that the king his master had lost an opportunity, which he would never meet with again. Nothing was then done either in Flanders or upon the Rhine: but the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon Bohemia. The two marshals, Broglio and Belleisle, were still masters
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of Prague, and still besieged. The army commanded by marshal Maillebois was marching to their assistance through Westphalia, Franconia, and the frontiers of the Upper Palatinate. Prince Charles, upon the news of the march of this army, turned the siege of Prague into a blockade, and immediately flew to the defence of Bohemia.

It was at this very time *, that a partisan whose name was Trenk, at the head of a crew of Pandours, T'alphashes, and Croatians, took the town of Chamb on the frontiers of the Upper Palatinate, which still held out for the emperor. He put all the inhabitants to the sword, and set fire to the town, after having first given it up to be plundered by the soldiers, and taken, as it is said, to his own share, the sum of 300,000 German florins, which had been deposited in this place. These same banditti, having met a French convoy of sick soldiers, massacred the sick and their conductors. With such savage ferocity did these irregular troops of Hungary carry on the war in every quarter.

In France, most people were afraid that Prague and Egra must soon undergo the same fate; yet they still flattered themselves with hopes from Maillebois's army; while the raising of the siege of Prague revived the spirits of the court of Francfort. The emperor enjoyed a transitory satisfaction, when the prince of Deux Ponts, brother of the reigning duke, brought him the colours taken from the Austrians in those sallies, which had been so many real battles, and where-

in

* December 14. & 15. 1742.

in this prince had greatly distinguished himself. At length the army under marshal Maillebois arrived, towards the beginning of September, on the frontiers of Bohemia. Hitherto every measure had been justly concerted. Count Saxe was to join this army with the body under his command in Bavaria, which indeed consisted of no more than twenty-seven thin battalions and thirty squadrons, but was a great addition to the new army. Count Saxe, who had already the character of improving every opportunity, had just stole away, with the corps under his command in Bavaria, from Kevenhuller's army, which had cooped him up; and by a very dextrous march, he advanced towards the frontiers of Bohemia on one side, while marshal Broglio approached on the other.

The duke of Harcourt, with a detachment of count Saxe's troops, had already taken the little town of Plan, at the western extremity of Bohemia, where he made four hundred prisoners of war. Count Saxe, having afterwards evacuated Plan, and taken another post called *Elnbogen*, joined his troops to the grand army, who were soon within sight of the Austrians. They now had it in their power to come to an engagement with the enemy; but it was a very hazardous affair; and, if they should happen to be defeated, they were neither sure of a retreat nor of subsistence. The minister had wrote twice to marshal Maillebois: "Take care not to expose the king's armies to any disgrace; and do not engage in an action the success of which may be dubious."

But

But there could be no action whose success was not dubious ; and the difficulty increased every day in regard to subsistence, because the enemy had plundered a magazine. The French wanted to open a road to Prague, by Caden, on the river Eger, leaving Egra and Elnbogen behind : when once they had taken post at Caden, the communication with Prague seemed easy, and they might receive provisions from Saxony. Moreover, marshal Broglio had posted the marquis Armentieres at Leutmeritz with some troops. Leutmeritz is a small town of Bohemia, where the Eger falls into the Elbe, about half-way between Caden and Prague. The whole depended on the post of Caden ; so that the people of Paris exhausted their conjectures and criticisms on this important operation. Never was the conduct of generals censured with so much severity and precipitation : nay, it has been even since publicly questioned, whether the French troops had ever been at Caden or not.

I shall give here the real fact as it has been attested by the general himself. This detail will not perhaps be of any importance to posterity ; but it is interesting at present. The 22d of October, count Saxe detached some troops to Caden, in order to break down the bridge over the Eger, and to prevent the enemy's passage. In consequence of this order, an independent company enters Caden, and breaks down the bridge ; but no sooner is this done than the Austrians arrive, restore the bridge, and make themselves masters of Caden. Then all communication between Broglio's army and that of marshal Maillebois

lebois was cut off. The latter received no account from Leutmeritz; nor could he proceed to Caden but by a defile, which appeared impracticable. The kingdom of Bohemia is surrounded with craggy mountains, through which there are only narrow passes, where a hundred men may stop a whole army. The forces under marshal Maillébois had no more bread than would last them till the 24th of October; so that the general was obliged to reduce the soldiers to half-allowance, by giving them only a quarter of a pound of meat a-piece. They tried the defile of Caden; the artillery could not pass; the waggoners all deserted; their places were supplied by soldiers, yet no progress was made; murmurings, want of discipline, misunderstandings, scarcity, every thing, in short, obstructed their passage. A council of war was called the 17th of October, where all the general officers were of opinion for retiring. Count d'Estrees sent his opinion in writing. "I see," said he, "no other way than to assemble all our forces and to fight, or to go no farther." All the rest proposed what had been first mentioned before their march into Bohemia; which was, to turn towards the Danube, in order to save Bavaria and frighten Austria. Thus the army could hardly set foot in Bohemia; but, fatigued and diminished by a long and painful march, returned towards Bavaria. It was, however, a great advantage to that electorate to have these new troops which, in conjunction with those of count Saxe, composed an army of about fifty thousand men. The court sent marshal Broglio to command them.

This general, having passed through Saxony with five hundred horse, reached Nuremburg the 12th of November; and the 22d he took upon him the command of the army at Dingelsing in Bavaria. Marshal Belleisle continued in Prague, where he cut out work for the Austrians: and Maillebois's army of course acquired a superiority in Bavaria. Munich was disengaged a second time; and the emperor returned to his capital. This prince had still a body of about ten or twelve thousand men; the French were masters of the course of the Danube, the length of more than thirty leagues, from Ulm as far as Passau; while in Bohemia they still kept possession of Egra and Prague, and were masters of the little circle of Leutmeritz, between Prague and Saxony. Thus there was still a possibility of restoring the emperor's affairs: but Leutmeritz was taken soon after, and marshal Belleisle found himself shut up in Prague, with the remainder of an intire army now reduced to about seventeen thousand men, without subsistence, without money, and without any prospect of succours. He had nothing to hope but from himself, and from the good disposition of a great many officers, who did not fall short of his expectation. "I cannot," said he, in a letter dated the 28th of October, "sufficiently commend, on this occasion, the zeal of the duke de Chevreuse, of the duke de Fleury, and of the marquis de Surgeres, who have sold all they had left to remount the dragoons." The marshal, seconded by his brother, opened a passage through the enemy, beat their different parties, kept them at the distance of above six leagues

leagues all round him, took care to have provisions brought into Prague, and established a strict police in the town, as well as a severe discipline among the troops, which was not the easiest part of his task.

When we see, by the memoirs of the siege, to what extremity they were reduced, what divisions were among the troops, how loudly they complained, and how greatly they were provoked by want, and discouraged by a series of misery, we are surprised that the marshal could ever manage so well. M. de Sechelles wanted money, and yet he never let the hospitals want. The most diligent assistance was necessary upon this occasion; for about twenty soldiers died every day, one upon the other, since the month of June. These, with so many other losses, continually presented themselves to the minds of the soldiers; who were terrified not only by their present misery, but likewise by their future evils, which are generally heightened by the imagination.

In this cruel situation were they in the month of November, when the minister ordered marshal Belleisle to try to evacuate Prague, in spite of the army that blockaded it. The general wrote, that he had concerted measures for whatever orders he might receive; that if the cardinal wanted he should hold out four months longer, he would undertake to it; and if he was commanded to evacuate Prague with all his troops, he would conduct them in safety to Egra, in spite of the enemy's army, and of the rigour of the season. The court chose the last, and it was accordingly executed. During the

blockade, this general had remounted his cavalry; his dragoons were formed of the horses belonging to the artillery; he had covered waggons to carry provisions; in short, he wanted no manner of conveniency.

And yet the expedition was extremely hazardous. Prague was surrounded by prince Lobkowitz's army, who were distributed into different quarters: the inhabitants of the town were so many spies: the cold was intense to that degree, as to be almost intolerable: about two thousand foldiers were sick; and the marshal himself had been ill a long time, so that he was not able to ride on horseback. Nevertheless, in the midst of all these difficulties, he fixed on his retreat in the night of the 17th of December 1742. In order to compass it with safety, it was necessary he should deceive prince Lobkowitz, the inhabitants of Prague, and his own troops. For this purpose he frequently sent out detachments to gather in corn in the neighbourhood; and these detachments had always cannon and covered waggons with them, to the end, that when he evacuated the town in this manner, it should occasion less surprise; and two days before his retreat he laid contributions payable in four months. The day of his departure he kept the gates shut; and having given out that he would go upon an expedition towards a particular side of the country, he went another way, and stole a march of twenty-four hours of prince Lobkowitz. Thus proceeding in order of battle, and sometimes followed by thirty pieces of cannon, according as the enemy might present themselves,
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he forced their quarters, repulsed their cuirassiers, and penetrated into the country, by an unfrequented road, with eleven thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The retreat was continued ten days in the midst of ice and snow. The enemy's cavalry incommoded their march, hovering continually about them in front, in the rear, or in the flank ; but they were always repulsed. If they could have fallen upon the provisions, Belleisle's whole army would have been destroyed.

To prevent this misfortune, he had distributed his army into five divisions, each of which had its own share of ammunition and provisions. The third day's march he was overtaken by prince Lobkowitz, who appeared at the head of a body of cavalry on the other side of a plain, where, if they had a mind, they might come to an engagement. Prince Lobkowitz held a council of war ; in which it was resolved, not to attack an army whom despair must render invincible : he therefore determined to cut off their retreat, and to go and break down the bridges by which the French must pass over the river Eger.

But the marshal pitched upon a road which would have been impassable in any other season ; for he conducted his army over frozen morasses. The cold was the most formidable enemy he had to encounter ; above eight hundred soldiers perished upon the road ; one of the hostages, whom he brought along with him from Prague, died in his coach. At length, after a journey of eight and thirty leagues, he arrived the 26th of

Decem.

December at Egra. The same day the troops that remained in Prague made a glorious capitulation. M. de Chevert, who had scaled the town, was left to command the garison, which consisted of about three thousand men, one third of whom were sick. In this situation, he took hostages of the town, whom he shut up in his own house, and put several tuns of gun-powder into his cellars, fully determined to blow them and himself up into the air, if the inhabitants offered the least violence. This intrepidity did not a little contribute to the honourable conditions which he obtained of prince Lobkowitz. He was permitted to conduct his garison with all military honours to the city of Egra, except the sick who were not able to follow him, but were forced to submit to the hard condition of being made prisoners, though their behaviour deserved a better fate. Thus this city, which had been taken in half an hour, was happily evacuated after a siege and a blockade of five months. The French being left alone, and without allies, were not able to preserve Bohemia for the emperor; but they restored him to his electoral dominions,

C H A P. V.

State of Europe during this war. Situation of affairs betwixt England and Spain. Commercial interests. What share Italy took in the troubles which happened after the death of Charles VI. What share Holland took. Death of cardinal Fleury.

IN the space of two years from the death of the last Austrian emperor to the end of 1742,
we

we have seen Bohemia, Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate, taken and retaken ; Prussia and Saxony united with France till the peace of Breslaw made in June 1742, and afterwards becoming neuter ; the other princes of the empire in a profound silence ; George II. king of Great Britain, beginning openly in 1742 to break his forced neutrality ; and his troops, to the number of forty-eight thousand men in Flanders, in a state of inaction, but ready to act ; in fine, the Austrian armies in possession of all Bohemia, excepting the city of Egra. But there was still an army of fifty thousand French in Bavaria and in the Upper Palatinate, under the command of marshal Broglio, against a like number of the enemy ; so that it yet appeared dubious whether the Bavarian emperor was to be victorious with the assistance of France, or whether he should be able to preserve his patrimonial estate, or even the imperial crown.

It is to be observed, that, since the month of August 1741, France had at different times sent to the emperor's assistance one hundred and fifty squadrons, without reckoning eleven independent companies, eight of light troops, three thousand Palatines, and three thousand Hessians ; to these we must add the Bavarian troops themselves, which were in French pay. They likewise raised, towards the end of the year 1742, thirty thousand militia, distributed among the generalities, according to the number of inhabitants : in regard to which we may take notice, that the generality of Paris furnishes no more than fourteen hundred and ten men ; while
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Normandy furnishes three thousand and ninety, which shews that the latter is considered as the most populous province.

France at that time employed every resource: for besides what she paid to the Hessians, and to the Palatines; besides the annual pension of six millions to the emperor; she granted subsidies to the king of Denmark, to prevent his furnishing the king of England with troops; and she likewise continued to pay subsidies to Sweden, whom she had assisted in her war against Russia: and had it not been for this war betwixt Sweden and Russia, the court of Petersburg might have sent thirty thousand men to the assistance of the queen of Hungary, as she did some time afterwards.

We see what efforts France was obliged to make, both at home and abroad; she was obliged to arm one part of Europe, and to maintain the other. Poland interested herself but very little in the affairs of her king, the elector of Saxony; and this prince, since the peace which he had concluded with the queen, seemed to concern himself no farther in the quarrel of the empire. The grand Signior, who was afraid of Shah Nadir, the usurper of Persia, and conqueror of part of Asia, gave no disturbance to Hungary. Such was the situation of the north, and of the east of Europe, of the south, and of the west, I mean of France and Italy. Spain afforded another scene; wherein England acted a principal character, both by the interest of the equilibrium of power, which she always affected to hold, and by her commerce, a more
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real and more sensible interest. We have already taken notice, that, after the happy time of the peace of Utrecht, the English, who were in possession of Minorca and of Gibraltar in Spain, had moreover obtained some privileges of the court of Madrid, which this court had refused even to the French, her defenders. The English merchants were permitted to supply the Spanish colonies with negroes, whom they purchased in Africa to make slaves in the new world. This negro-trade, for which they paid thirty-three piastres a-head to the Spanish government, was an object of considerable gain; for the South-sea company, in furnishing four thousand eight hundred negroes, had likewise obtained the privilege of selling the eight hundred without paying any duty. But the greatest advantage the English enjoyed, in preference to other nations, was the permission granted them, in the year 1716, of sending a ship annually to Porto Bello.

This ship, which in the beginning was allowed to contain no more than five hundred tons, was in 1717, by agreement, raised to eight hundred and fifty tons; but in reality, and by abuse, to a thousand, which made two millions weight of goods. These thousand tons were the least part of that commerce. A pinnace attended the vessel, under pretence of carrying provisions to it, and went continually to and fro; this pinnace took in loads of goods in the English colonies, and conveyed them to this vessel; which being constantly replenished, answered the end of a whole fleet. Besides, other vessels used to come and fill the company's ship, and their boats fre-

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quently landed such goods on the coasts of America as the inhabitants wanted. This was doing a great injury to the Spanish government, and even to the several nations concerned in the trade carried on from the ports of Spain to the gulf of Mexico.

The Spanish government treated the English traders with severity; and severities are generally carried too far. Sometimes the innocent were confounded with the guilty; the sums lawfully due to the one were detained from them, because the others had made unlawful gains; in short, they complained heavily on both sides. A great many English became pirates with impunity; they met with some Spaniards on the coasts of Florida, who were fishing for the galleons that had been cast away, and of which they had recovered four hundred thousand piastres. The English killed part of the crew, and seized all the money. The Spaniards demanded satisfaction for these outrages of the English governors in those quarters; but the English free-booters, when they took a Spanish vessel, used to sink it, with all the crew, after they had gutted it, that there might not be any proof of their villany. At other times, they sold those Spaniards in their own colonies; and when these wretches demanded justice of the English governor, those who had sold them got off by pretending, that, from their swarthy complexion, they had taken them for negroes. The pirates understood one another, and divided the spoils with the judges, and then said, that they had been tried by their peers.

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The Spanish guarda-costas revenged themselves frequently of these cruel hostilities; they took a great many vessels, and used the crews extremely ill. In the mean time they were negotiating at Madrid and at London to terminate the disputes in America. By the convention of Prado, of the 14th of January 1739, Spain having made up her accounts with the south-sea company, promised to pay them ninety thousand pounds Sterling in four months, making a deduction of what the company was, in other respects, indebted to Spain: but this deduction became the subject of a fresh quarrel; so that the accounts of private merchants produced a war, wherein both sides spent a thousand times more than the demand on either side amounted to.

During these transactions, the captain of a ship, whose name was Jenkins, went and presented himself before the house of commons in 1739. He was a plain, open man, and, as it is said, had carried on no counterband trade, but had been met by a Spanish guarda-coasta, within a certain distance of the American coast, where the Spaniards will not suffer any English vessels to sail. The Spanish commander seized on Jenkins's ship, laid the crew in irons, then split the nose and cut off the ears of their captain. In this condition Jenkins appeared before the house, where he related this adventure with the simplicity usual to his profession and character. "Gentlemen," said he, "after they had mangled me in this manner, they threatned to put me to death; I expected it, and recommended my soul to God, but the revenge of

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“ my cause to my country.” These words, pronounced with a natural emphasis, excited indignation and pity in the whole assembly ; and the common people of London wrote upon the door of the house of commons, *A free sea, or war.*

We have already taken notice, that Sir Robert Walpole wanted to reconcile these differences ; while his adversaries were eager to inflame the minds of the people. Never was more real eloquence displayed than in the speeches made at that time in both houses of parliament ; nay, I question whether the studied harangues which were formerly pronounced at Athens and at Rome, upon almost similar occasions, are superior to the extemporaneous discourses of Sir William Wyndham, lord Carteret, Sir Robert Walpole, the earl of Chesterfield, and Mr Pultney, since earl of Bath. These discourses, the natural effect of an English spirit and government, are apt to cause a surprise in those who are strangers to that nation ; just as some commodities, which are cheap and disregarded in the country of their growth, are greatly prized in other places. But we must read these harangues with great precautions ; for the spirit of party runs through them all, and the real state of the nation is generally disguised. The ministerial party represent the government in a flourishing condition ; while the contrary faction affirm that the nation is ruined and undone. “ Where are those days,” cried a member at that time in the house, “ when a minister declared, that no power in Europe should fire
“ a single

“ a single cannon, without leave first obtained
“ from England ?”

At length the public voice of the nation determined the king and parliament ; letters of reprisals were delivered out to the merchants, and to privateers ; and war was declared in form against Spain, towards the end of 1739.

At first the sea was the scene of action between the two nations ; in which the privateers on both sides, provided with letters-patent, began in Europe and America to attack the merchant-ships, and mutually to destroy the very commerce for which they were fighting : but they soon proceeded to greater hostilities.

Admiral Vernon appeared in 1740, in the gulf of Mexico, where he attacked, and took the town of Porto Bello, the staple of the treasures of the new world. He demolished the fortifications of this place, and made it a new channel of communication ; by which the English continued, sword in hand, to carry on that commerce, which had been hitherto clandestine, and the cause of the rupture. This expedition was considered by the English as one of the greatest services done to the nation. The admiral received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and they wrote to him just as they had done to the duke of Marlborough after the battle of Hockstet. From that time the south-sea stocks rose, notwithstanding the immense expences of the nation. The English now expected to conquer Spanish America, imagining that nothing could withstand admiral Vernon : and when this admiral went some time after to lay

lay siege to Carthagera, they anticipated the celebration of the taking it ; for at the very time when Vernon was raising the siege, they struck a medal, on which were to be seen the harbour and the environs of Carthagera, with this legend, *He has taken Carthagera*. The reverse represented Admiral Vernon, with these words, *To the avenger of his country*. There are a great many examples of these hasty medals, which would impose upon posterity, if the more faithful and more exact representations of history did not prevent such errors.

The navy of France, though in a weak condition, was yet able to stop the progress of the English ; and squadrons were sent to protect the vessels and coast of Spain. The English, not being yet come to a rupture with France, could not, according to the law of nations, insult the French flag : but they eluded this new kind of policy by a new artifice. They pretended twice to mistake the French ships for Spanish. Thus six of their men of war attacked the Chevalier d'Epinay, in the neighbourhood of St Domingo, who had only four, each of which mounted fewer guns than any of the English ; but finding themselves very roughly handled, they put an end to the engagement, asking pardon for their mistake. This was a new way of justifying hostilities. They behaved in the very same manner, towards the Streights of Gibraltar, to the Chevalier de Caylus, who gave them the very same reception, though they were five to three. And thus they tried one another's strength, without declaring war. Such was the first beginning

ginning of that extraordinary kind of policy, of waging war in full peace; of committing hostilities in one part of the world, while they shewed mutual respect in the other; and of having ambassadors at an enemy's court. This sort of caution was of some comfort to the people, because, at least, it shewed a mark of moderation, and gave them still hopes of public harmony.

Such was the situation of France in regard to Spain and England, when the death of the emperor Charles VI. threw Europe into confusion. We have already seen what effects were felt in Germany from the quarrel between Austria and Bavaria. Italy was soon laid waste by this Austrian succession. Spain claimed the duchy of Milan; and Parma and Placentia were to descend, by right of blood, to one of the sons of the queen, born princess of Parma.

Philip V. wanted to have the duchy of Milan for his third son: for it would have alarmed Italy too much, had he designed Parma and Placentia for Don Carlos, who was already master of Naples and Sicily. The union of too many states under the same sovereign would have given a general umbrage. So that Don Philip was the prince for whom he allotted the duchies of Milan and Parma.

The queen of Hungary, then in possession of the Milanese, used her best endeavours to maintain her ground in that country. The king of Sardinia likewise revived his claims to this province. He was afraid to see it in the hands of the house of Lorrain, ingrafted on the house of
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Austria ; which, being possessed at the same time of the Milanese and of Tuscany, might soon strip him of those territories which had been ceded to him by the treaties of 1737 and 1738. But he was still more afraid of seeing himself hemmed in by France, and by a prince of the house of Bourbon, while another prince of this family sat upon the throne of Naples and Sicily.

So early as the 1st of January 1742, he published a declaration of his rights. In the February following, he determined to join his forces to the queen of Hungary's, without agreeing with her in the main : they only united at present against the common danger. They proposed no other advantage at that time. The king of Sardinia even expressly reserved to himself the power of taking other measures whenever he thought proper : so that, upon the whole, it was no more than a treaty betwixt two enemies, who thought only of defending themselves against a third. The court of Spain sent Don Philip to attack the king of Sardinia, who neither chose to have him for his friend nor for his neighbour. Cardinal Fleury granted a passage to Don Philip, and to a part of his army, through France ; but refused to assist him with troops. He thought he had done enough already in sending a fleet to America.

This minister, a year after he had sent two armies into Germany, of about forty thousand men each, to the assistance of the elector of Bavaria, seemed to be afraid of lending twelve thousand men to a prince of the house of Bourbon, and son-in-law of Lewis XV. At one time

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we do a great deal; and at another time we are afraid of doing ever so little. The reason of this conduct was, that he flattered himself still with the hopes of gaining the duke of Savoy, who seemed to leave the door open for an accommodation.

The cardinal had another motive. He did not care to come to an open rupture at that time with the English, who would have infallibly declared war against France. For, in the month of February 1742, the parliament had voted forty thousand seamen for the public service, and four pounds for each man: they likewise granted considerable supplies to the king, strongly recommending to him the balance of Europe. The English had a considerable fleet in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, and another near Toulon; and the cardinal, who had hitherto preserved the ascendant over England in his negotiations, and who long depended on the superiority of the cabinet, had neglected that of the sea. The revolutions on the continent, which began in Germany, did not permit him to bid defiance every where to the maritime powers. The English openly opposed the settlement of Don Philip in

Italy, under the pretence of maintaining the equilibrium of Europe: but when they engaged in the war of 1702, in order to settle Spain, the new world, the Milanese, Mantua, Naples, Sicily, and Flanders, upon the Archduke Charles, while his brother Joseph was possessed of Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, and so many other dominions, together

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with the imperial dignity, they surely looked up. on the equilibrium with a different eye.

The case is, that the balance of power, however understood, was become the favourite passion of the people of England. But the ministry had another more secret view; they wanted to oblige Spain to grant England a share of the trade of the new world, Upon this condition they would have assisted Don Philip to pass into Italy, as they had assisted Don Carlos in 1731. But the court of Spain did not think proper to enrich her enemy; and moreover depended on being able to settle Don Philip in spite of the English. In the months of November and December 1741, the Spaniards had transported several bodies of troops into Italy by sea, under the command of the duke of Montemar, famous for his victory of Bitonto, and afterwards for his disgrace. These troops landed at different times on the coasts of Tuscany, and in the ports of the state Degli Presidii, belonging to the crown of the Two Sicilies. As they were under a necessity of passing through the territories of Tuscany; the grand duke, husband of the queen of Hungary, granted them a free passage, declaring himself neuter in the cause of his wife. Pope Benedict XIV. through whose territories the Spanish army was likewise obliged to pass in the same conjuncture, as well as the Austrian forces, promised the same neutrality, for a better reason than any other prince, as the common father of princes and nations.

At the same time fresh troops arrived from Spain by the way of Genoa. This republic pretended

tended also to a neutrality, and let them pass. Don Carlos embraced likewise a neutrality, though the cause of his father and his brother was concerned. But of all those powers in appearance neuter, not one was so in reality. The king of the two Sicilies sent to the duke of Montemar some Neapolitan regiments in the Spanish pay. This prince had been obliged to promise not to concern himself in this quarrel; because neither the coast nor the city of Naples were sheltered from the bombardments of an English fleet. He had not yet had time to render his new kingdom a potent state, such as it had been formerly under the Norman princes, and those of the house of Anjou. It was now near three hundred years since the Neapolitans had seen a sovereign residing in their capital; which being always governed by viceroys, and often changing masters, had not been able to acquire that vigour and strength, which a state derives from the settled administration of a prince who resides there in person. The king had begun with establishing order and commerce in his new dominions: but it must be the work of time to raise a navy, and to form disciplined and warlike troops. All his neutrality, however, did not prevent the duke of Montemar's army, as we have observed, from being greatly increased by several Neapolitan regiments. By such a conduct, Don Carlos exercised his troops, and preserved peace and commerce throughout his dominions.

The duke of Modena was already in the interest of Spain; Genoa was also inclined the same way; and the Pope having acknowledged the

the emperor, immediately after his death, did not appear neuter in the eyes of the queen of Hungary.

Count Traun, who was governor of the Milanese for this princess, drew all his forces, together with those which were sent him from Tyrol, in order to oppose the Spaniards. In the beginning of March 1740, the king of Sardinia joined the Austrians with a strong body of forces, and advanced towards the duchy of Parma. This prince seemed deserving of a greater extent of territory than that which he possessed, and which he now was endeavouring to enlarge. He exerted then as much courage and activity in the Austrian cause, as he had displayed against that house in 1733. In both these wars he shewed the value of his alliance, and that no means ought to be neglected either of making him a friend, or of putting it out of his power to hurt. He had excellent ministers, good generals, and was himself both minister and general, very saving in his expences, artful in his conduct, unwearied in labour, and brave in war.

Towards the month of May, he had already eighteen thousand men on the side of Parma; and the Austrians about twelve thousand towards the territory of Bologna. The duke of Montemar, being somewhat inferior in forces, was obliged to give way. The king of Sardinia advanced as far as Modena, wanting to draw the duke from his neutrality, and to compel him to change sides. He proposed to him, in concert with the Austrians, to deliver up his citadel. But this prince, and his spouse, had too much

resolution to join against their will with a party in which they had no concern : they preferred therefore the misfortune of losing their dominions for a while, to the disgrace of depending on those who were proposing a real servitude to them, under the name of an alliance. In consequence of this resolution, they quitted their principality, and retired to Ferrara, while the Austrians and Piedmontese seized, and almost ruined, the whole duchy of Modena : such was the end of their neutrality.

With regard to the Pope, though the queen of Hungary did not compel him to depart from the system he had taken, yet she obliged him at least to furnish her with the means of carrying on the war, even in the territories of the holy see : for as soon as her arms had gain'd the upper hand, she obtained, in the month of June, a bull from his holiness, for levying the tenth penny on the church-lands in all her Italian dominions. Her troops, which were in pursuit of the duke of Montemar, through the territory of Bologna, and the marquisate of Ancona, lived at the expences of the Pope's subjects. Rome had no means of causing her neutrality to be respected. It was no longer the time when the Popes defended, or enlarged their dominions, sword in hand. With more riches they are less powerful : they have neither generals nor armies ; and pursuing now, for two hundred years, a plan of peaceful politics, they generally receive the law from the army which is nearest their dominions. Some years ago, cardinal Alberoni wanted to remedy this weakness, by proposing

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to establish an Italic body, of which the Pope was to be the head ; as we see in Germany, that the emperor is at the head of the Germanic body. But this project was too comprehensive to screen them from the calamities to which a neutral and defenceless country is exposed by the fortune of war.

As to the neutrality of the king of Naples, it turned out thus. The 18th of August they were surprised to see within sight of the port of Naples an English squadron, consisting of six ships of sixty guns, with six frigates, and two bomb-ketches. Commodore Martin, who commanded this squadron, dispatched an officer on shore with a letter to the chief minister ; which contained in substance, that the king must withdraw his troops from the Spanish army, or that very instant he would bombard the town. Upon this some conferences were held : but the English captain at length said, that he should give them only an hour to determine. The port was but ill provided with artillery ; nor had they taken any precautions against an insult which they never expected : then they perceived, that the ancient maxim, *viz. He who is master at sea, is also master by land*, is often true. They were obliged to sign every thing that the English commodore desired, and even to observe this treaty thus signed, till they had time to provide for the defence and security of the port and kingdom.

The English themselves were sensible, that the king of Naples could no longer abide by this forced neutrality in Italy, than the king of England

land had observed his in Germany. The duke of Montemar, who was come into Italy in order to make a conquest of Lombardy, was now retreating towards the kingdom of Naples, still hard pressed by the Austrians. At this very juncture the king of Sardinia returned to Piedmont, and to his duchy of Savoy, where the vicissitudes of war rendered his presence necessary. The Infant Don Philip had in vain attempted to land some more forces at Genoa; the English fleet kept such a good look-out, as to render it impracticable: upon which he resolved to march his army into the duchy of Savoy, and to take possession of that country. Having accordingly executed his design, the magistrates of Chamberry yielded homage to him; when he forced the inhabitants, upon pain of death, not to hold the least correspondence with their old master. King Charles Emanuel passes the Alps with twenty thousand men; and the Infant, who had hardly two thousand, was obliged to relinquish his conquest, and to retire into Dauphine, where he waited for reinforcements. As soon as these were arrived, the Spaniards made themselves masters of Savoy a second time: this is almost an open country on the side of Dauphine, a country both poor and barren, from whence the sovereign hardly receives a million of livres annual revenue. Charles Emanuel abandoned it now to the Spaniards, in order to defend other provinces of greater importance.

From this sketch it appears, that all the contending powers were in constant alarm, and experienced a continual vicissitude, from the further

ther end of Silesia to the extremity of Italy. Austria, at that time, was in open war only with Bavaria and Spain; Naples, Florence, Genoa, and Rome were neuter; the people of the duchies of Milan, Mantua, Parma, Modena, and Guastalla, looked upon all these irruptions and commotions with an impotent concern, long accustomed to be a prey to the conqueror, without even presuming to give him either their exclusion or their vote. The court of Spain applied to the Swiss to grant leave for the Spanish troops to march through their territory into Italy; but it was refused. The Swiss sell their men to the different princes of Europe, and yet defend their country against them; the government is pacific, and the people warlike; so that such a neutrality as theirs was respected. Venice raised twenty thousand men in order to give a weight to her neutrality.

All Germany seemed indifferent in the quarrel between Austria and Bavaria. Even the elector of Cologne did not presume to take the part of his brother the emperor, being afraid of the duke of Modena's fate. It is true, Hanover embraced one side; but as a country subject to the king of England, and whose troops were in British pay. Besides, the German princes that let out their troops for hire, were still looked upon as neuter. The territories of the empire, through which the contending armies marched, were seldom plundered. The French paid ready money for every thing; the Austrians gave notes; and England and Holland still preserved an outward appearance of peace with France. There was

was an English consul at Naples, a French minister at Turin, and even at Vienna, and those states had theirs at Paris; but, at the bottom, the courts of Vienna, London, and Turin, were using their utmost endeavours to shake the foundation of the French monarchy.

England solicited Holland more than ever to declare war, and France omitted no pains to prevent such a declaration. This little republic might, at that time, have enjoyed the glory of being the umpire betwixt the houses of Bourbon and of Austria; it was her interest, and it would have been noble in her to have taken that step: but the English faction, which was now uppermost at the Hague, prevailed over the moderate party, and Holland missed the only opportunity they ever will have, of acting a grander part than any power in Europe. It often happens that a single man shews more judgment than a whole senate and people, in times of factions and general prejudices. M. Van Hoy, ambassador from the states-general to the court of France, constantly represented to them, that the character of mediators was the only one that suited their interest and glory; that if they took a contrary resolution, they would certainly repent it when too late. But the faction then predominant at the Hague grew incensed at his counsels, and sent him such orders as before were never heard, not to insert any more reflections in his letters. Those who were sticklers for a war caused his letters to be printed in Holland, in order to expose them to ridicule, as if they appeared rather to be the exhortations of a philosopher,

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sopher, than the papers of an ambassador ; but they only published their own condemnation.

There were indeed some few members of the states-general who thought and who spoke like this minister ; but very little attention was paid them : the word *liberty* alone, the remembrance of Lewis XIV.'s irruption, and the hopes of reducing the power of his successor, inflamed their minds. One would not think it at all probable, that, in the present age we live in, there should have been an attempt to revive the customs and manners of antient Greece ; and yet this we saw, at that time, in Holland. M. William Van Haaren, a young gentleman, one of the deputies of the province of Friesland to the states-general, composed some allegorical poems, in order to excite the nation against the king of France. These pieces contained a great many beautiful strokes ; and the author had the art of enriching his language, and of rendering it harmonious, which indeed it greatly wanted. His verses, though sublime and allegorical, were understood by the people, because they were natural, and the allegory was clear : they were read even in the villages, and in the midst of the public squares after divine service ; and the readers were liberally paid by the people, as had been formerly the case with Homer's rhapsodists. Nothing contributed more than this to inflame the Dutch. It had been proposed to augment the troops of the republic to the number of twenty thousand, in order to send effectual succours to the queen of Hungary : but the deputies of Amsterdam still were wavering. In
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this situation they received a letter from a quarter of the town which is called *le Jourdain*, and has been always very tumultuous; the letter was couched very near in these terms: "Messieurs du Jourdain give notice to Messieurs the deputies, that probably they may have their throats cut unless they consent to the raising of twenty thousand men." In fact, this augmentation was ordered some months after ‡, and the Dutch had then an army of fourscore thousand men.

There was no appearance, as yet, that the united provinces were to have a stadtholder; this prince's party was gathering strength, tho' under-hand; it was easy to foresee, that the same people, who so loudly cried out for war, and who forced their governors to augment the troops, might, one day, oblige them to chuse themselves a master. But the magistrates, most devoted to the English faction, though determined for a war, were still more so for the preservation of their authority: they had a greater apprehension of a stadtholder than of the arms of France. This appeared very plainly in the promotion of the month of September 1742; for, notwithstanding the pressing instances of the provinces of Groningen and Friesland, who desired that the prince of Orange should be named general of foot, the states made him only a lieutenant-general. The prince, with indignation, rejected the title.

In this violent situation were all those powers

at the beginning of the year 1743, when cardinal Fleury, after having been obliged, in a very advanced old age, and notwithstanding his pacific character, to throw Europe into a combustion, quitted the stage, leaving the affairs of the French nation in such a crisis, as indeed interrupted that series of prosperity which he had enjoyed all his life, but did not disturb the tranquillity of his mind. He was ninety years and seven months old : and if we do but reflect, that by the exactest calculations, out of one hundred and forty cotemporaries, not above one, according to the course of nature, comes to the age of fourscore, the cardinal ought to be considered as a happy man. But if we reflect further, that of those who arrive at this great age, seldom one in a thousand preserves a sufficient vigour of body and mind for the management of affairs ; and, in fine, if we recollect, that the cardinal began his function of prime minister at the age of seventy three ; that is, at a stage when the greatest part of mankind retire from business ; we must allow, that no man ever finished a more extraordinary, or more happy career.

As his good fortune was singular, so was his moderation. Cardinal Ximenes continued to wear a Cordelier's habit, but had the riches of a sovereign, and levied armies at his own expence. Cardinal Amboise wanted the triple crown. Wolsey, in his disgrace, bewailed the condition to which he was reduced, of being attended upon the road by no more than one hundred and eighty domestics. Every body knows the pomp and pride of cardinal Richlieu, and the immense
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wealth left by Mazarin. Cardinal Fleury had nothing left to distinguish him but his modesty; born to no fortune, and supported merely by the generosity of one of his uncles, he spent what he received in good-natured offices. When he came to be minister, his whole revenue consisted of sixty thousand livres, coming from two benefices; of twenty thousand from his place in council, and fifteen thousand on the post-office; the half of which he expended in private charities, and with the other half he kept a moderate house, and frugal table. His whole furniture did not amount to above the value of two thousand crowns:

This simplicity, which contributed to his reputation and fortune, was not the consequence of any extraordinary resolution; men seldom keep those resolutions so long. In this manner he had always lived, entirely employed in rendering himself agreeable to society, and in distinguishing himself by those agreeable qualities which so well suited his character. When he was at court as almoner to Madame the dauphiness, he gained the good-will of every body. His conversation was sweet and agreeable; supported by pleasant anecdotes, now and then enlivened by a pleasant raillery, which, far from being offensive, had something flattering in its nature. He wrote as he spoke. There are still some short letters of his remaining, which were penned fifteen days before his death, and plainly prove that he preserved this pleasant vivacity to the last. All the ladies at court were full of his praises, and yet none of the men were jealous.

Lewis

Lewis XIV. refused him a bishoprick a long time. I heard the cardinal tell the story himself, that when, at length, he obtained the bishoprick of Frejus, after he had lost all expectations of it, the king said to him, "I have made you wait somewhat longer, because you had too many friends who were soliciting for you, and I was willing to have the satisfaction that you should be indebted to no body but to myself."

Though he had a great number of what we commonly call friends, yet it was neither his principle nor his inclination to lavish wantonly his friendship. Thus he bestowed only the outward appearances of it, but in such a manner as included no violent fondness nor imposition; and he knew how to conciliate the affections of the generality, without ever trusting his secret to any body.

He resigned his bishoprick as soon as he was able, after he had eased it of debts by his economy, and done a vast deal of good by his spirit of reconciliation. These were the two predominant parts of his character. The reason he gave to the people of his diocese was, his bad state of health, which rendered him quite unfit to attend his flock. It is for this very reason that, in the time of the regency, he refused the archbishoprick of Rheims, which was offered him by the duke of Orleans. When marshal Villars pressed him to accept of it, he answered, That it would not become him to have health sufficient to govern the archbishoprick of Rheims, when he had not enough to direct the diocese of Frejus.

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This bishoprick of Frejus was at a great distance from the court, and in a country not over and above agreeable; for which reason he never liked it. He used to say, that, as soon as he saw his wife he repented his marriage; and, in one of his pleasant humours, he subscribed himself, in a letter to cardinal Quirini, *Fleury, by the divine indignation, bishop of Frejus.*

He resigned this bishoprick towards the beginning of the 1715. The court of Rome, well informed with regard to the ecclesiastical affairs of other kingdoms, seemed convinced, that the voluntary and absolute sacrifice of this bishoprick must have been founded on the design of making him preceptor to the Dauphin. Pope Clement XI. had so little doubt about it, that he mentioned it publicly; and indeed marshal Villeroy, after a great many solicitations, prevailed on Lewis XIV. to name the bishop of Frejus to that office by a codicil. And yet the new preceptor explains himself about this matter, to cardinal Quirini, in the following manner.

“More than once have I regretted the loss of
“my solitude of Frejus. At my arrival I was
“informed, that the king was at the point of
“death; and that he had done me the honour
“to nominate me preceptor to his great grand-
“son. Had he been in a capacity to hear me,
“I should have begged of him to ease me of a
“burden which makes me tremble; but, after
“his death, they would not so much as listen
“to me. The concern has disordered me very
“much, and I am quite disconsolate for the loss
“of my liberty.”

He

He comforted himself however in forming his pupil insensibly to business, to secrecy, to honour; and in all the agitations of the court, during the minority, he preserved the regent's good-will, and the general esteem; never putting himself forward, never complaining, never exposing himself to denials, nor entering into intrigues: but all this time, he secretly informed himself concerning the internal administration of the kingdom, and the policy of foreign nations. The circumspection of his conduct, his good sense, and engaging manner, made France desirous to see him at the head of affairs; where, at length, he was placed by particular circumstances, whether he would or not: and his conduct in that high station clearly proved, that lenity and patience are the qualifications most requisite for human government. His administration was less envied and less opposed than that of Richlieu or of Mazarin, even in their happiest days. His place made no sort of alteration in his manners. It was a subject of surprise, that the prime minister should be, without exception, the most amiable, and, at the same time, the most disinterested of any person at court. The welfare of the state agreed a long time with his moderation. The public had need of that peace which he was so fond of; and all the foreign ministers believed, that, in his lifetime, it would never be interrupted.

When he appeared in 1725, at the congress of Soissons, the several ministers looked upon him as their father, a title which many princes, and even the emperor Charles VI. sometimes gave

gave him in their letters. At length, in 1733, they presumed too much on the reputation he bore of being a pacific man. The high chancellor at Vienna publicly declared, that they might act as they pleased against king Stanislaus, for the cardinal would bear it. Being forced then into a war, he managed it with prudence and success, and made a happy end of it. The treaty indeed satisfied neither Spain nor Savoy, but it gave Lorraine to France: and when we are to chuse whether we are to serve our allies or our country, there is not the least room to hesitate.

Thus, without having any grand project, he did some grand things, by following such measures as naturally led to the events. His tranquil character made him fear, and even undervalue, persons of deep and active capacities, who, he pretended, were never quiet: but as this active spirit is generally attended with abilities, he kept all such at too great a distance. He had a greater distrust of men than desire of knowing them. His age and character led him to think, that there were no more men of genius in France in whatever branch; and even if there were, that he might do without them; and that it was a matter of great indifference what persons he employed. The œconomy which he observed in his own private family, he would fain have introduced into the public administration. This was the cause of his neglecting to maintain a powerful navy. He did not imagine that the state would have any need of a fleet against the English, whom he had long amused with his negotiations;

gotiations; but negotiations alter, while a navy continues. The principle of his administration was, to observe a regularity in the finances, and to let France recover of herself, *like a robust body, which has felt some disorder, and wants nothing but diet and temperance.* These are the very words he made use of in answer to a grand project of innovation in the finances: and indeed the national commerce, left to itself, was very flourishing while the peace lasted; but, not being supported by maritime forces equal to those of the English, it declined very much during the great war of 1741.

His administration was not distinguished by any new settlement, by pompous monuments, or by any of those magnificent institutions which strike the eyes of the public; but moderation, simplicity, uniformity, and prudence, are virtues that will transmit his name to future ages.

To conclude, the most peaceful of all ministers was dragged into the most violent quarrel; and a minister, the most sparing of the treasures of France, was obliged to squander them away upon a war which, in his time, proved very unfortunate.

The king was present at his last moments, when he wept over him, and brought the dauphin into his apartment. But as they kept this young prince at some distance from the bed of the dying person, the cardinal desired them to bring him nearer. "It is fit," said he, "that he be accustomed to such sights as these." At length, after having lived ninety years, he met death undaunted.

C H A P.

CHAP. VI.

Melancholy situation of the emperor Charles VI. Loss of the battle of Dettingen. The French army, which was sent to the emperor's assistance in Bavaria, deserts him.

NO sooner had cardinal Fleury departed this life, than the king, who had informed himself concerning the several branches of the administration, even in the minutest particulars, took the reins of government into his own hands. He was then fully determined to accept of an honourable peace, or vigorously to prosecute a necessary war, and, whatever might happen, inviolably to keep his word.

He made no change in the measures already taken. The same generals commanded.

It is pretended by some, that the mistakes which occasioned the loss of Bohemia and Bavaria the preceding year, were repeated in 1743; that the forces of France and Bavaria mouldered away of themselves, being divided into too many separate bodies. The misfortunes of the French began with the mortality which seized their troops in Bavaria. It often happens, that an army loses more men by inaction than by military toil; and one of the principal cares of a general should be, to prevent the spreading of sickness among his men. The French soldiers spent the end of 1742, and the beginning of 1743, crowded one upon another in German

stoves ; and this alone destroyed a great number. But what hurt their affairs the most of all, was the misunderstanding betwixt marshal Broglie and count Seckendorff, who, at that time, commanded the Bavarians. The latter, who had prince Charles to deal with, wanted the French general to send him reinforcements, which would have weakened his army ; and marshal Broglie being employed against prince Lobkowitz, frequently refused to comply with his desire. The emperor, who was then at Munich, could not reconcile them. In the public papers it was said, that he had forty thousand men ; but he had not really more than twenty thousand.

Prince Charles having drawn all his forces together towards the river Inn, obtained a complete victory in the neighbourhood of Braunaw, over the Bavarians, where he destroyed a body of eight thousand men, and took general Minuzzi prisoner, with three other general officers. The scattered remains of the Bavarian army retired to Braunaw ; and the whole electorate was soon open to the Austrians. Mary Teresa was apprised of this news the very day she was crowned at Prague, where her rival had been crowned but a while before. There was now no army to oppose the progress of prince Charles ; so that he made himself master of Dengilfing, Deckendorf, and Landaw upon the Isser, in all which places he took a number of prisoners.

On the other side, prince Lobkowitz penetrated into the upper Palatinate, and marshal

Broglie retired towards Ingolstadt. The emperor was then obliged to fly once more from his capital, and to seek for shelter in Augsburg, an imperial city. But here he did not stay long. As he quitted the town, he had the mortification to see Mentzel enter at the head of his Pandours, who had the brutality to insult him in the streets: from thence he took refuge in Francfort. All these events followed close upon one another in the months of May and June.

As this prince's misfortunes multiplied every day, he was reduced to the melancholy condition of imploring pity of this very queen of Hungary whom he had been so near dethroning. In short, he offered to renounce all his pretensions to the inheritance of the house of Austria. The hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel charged himself with this negotiation, and waited upon the king of England, who was then at Hanover, with the emperor's proposals. King George made answer, that he would consult his parliament. This very negotiation of the prince of Hesse only served to convince Charles VII. that his enemies had conceived a design to dethrone him. Finding this step ineffectual, he took the resolution of declaring himself neuter in his own cause, and desired the queen of Hungary to let him leave the shattered remains of his army in Suabia, where they should be considered as troops belonging to the empire. He offered, at the same time, to send marshal Broglie's army back into France. The queen replied, "That she was not at war with the head of the empire, since, according to the disposition of the
" golden

“ golden bull, which had been violated at his
“ election, she had never acknowledged him as
“ emperor ; that she would therefore attack his
“ troops where-ever she met them ; yet she
“ would not hinder him from taking shelter
“ within the territories of the empire, except-
“ ing the electorate of Bavaria.”

At this same time the earl of Stair was advancing towards Francfort with an army of upwards of fifty thousand men, composed of English, Hanoverians, and Austrians. The king of England arrived there with his second son the duke of Cumberland, after passing by Francfort, the asylum of that same emperor whom he still acknowledged as his sovereign, and against whom he waged war with hopes of dispossessing him of his throne.

The Dutch, at length, consented to join the confederate armies with twenty thousand men, thinking the time was now come when they might take this step, without running any risque, and that they might crush the French without a declaration of war. They sent six thousand men into Flanders, to replace the Austrian garisons, and prepared fourteen thousand men for Germany, but very slowly, according to the genius of their republic. At that time they believed at the Hague, at Vienna, and at London, that France was exhausted of men and money ; or they pretended so to believe. One of the principal members of the republic affirmed, that France could not bring above a hundred thousand men into the field ; and that she had not above two hundred millions of livres in current specie.

specie. This was misrepresenting things strangely; but it was likewise exciting the people, who must often be deceived.

In the mean while, the king of France sent marshal Noailles at the head of sixty six battalions, and one hundred and thirty eight squadrons, with orders to attack the English wherever he found them. At the same time, he determined to lend succours to Don Philip in Italy, in case the king of Sardinia refused coming to an agreement. Towards the Danube he had still a complete army of sixty six battalions, and a hundred and fifteen squadrons, which were at hand to relieve Egra on the one side, or Bavaria on the other. He faced about on every side, though he was only an auxiliary; while the emperor, who was now withdrawn from Augsburg to Frankfurt, saw his fate depending on the success of his allies or of his enemies.

This prince's quarrel, and those which it gave rise to, employed ten armies, all at the same time, five in Germany, and five in Italy. In the first place, there was in Germany marshal Broglio's army, which defended Bavaria: it consisted, in the main, of all those regiments which had escaped from Bohemia, and of the half of marshal Belleisle's troops; which, in conjunction with the Bavarians, composed a formidable army. The second was that commanded by prince Charles, which pressed hard upon marshal Broglio, and was ravaging Bavaria. The third was that of Marshal Noailles towards the Rhine, augmented likewise by the troops and recruits of marshal Belleisle. Against him were
the

the Hanoverians and Austrians united, to the number of above fifty thousand men, which made the fourth army under king George II. The fifth was that of the fourteen thousand Dutch, who were advancing slowly towards the Maine, in order to join the English too late.

The five armies in Italy were, that of the Infant Don Philip, which had subdued Savoy; that of the king of Sardinia, part of which guarded the passage of the Alps, and the other had joined the Austrians. This Austrian army reached from the Milanese to the neighbourhood of Bologna. These were opposed by count Gages, a Fleming by birth, whose merit had raised him to the command of the Spanish army, in the place of the duke of Montemar. The sixth was that of Naples, which was withheld from acting by a neutrality just then expiring. To these ten armies we might add an eleventh, namely that of Venice, which was raised only to guard against all the rest. All these great preparations held Europe in suspense. This was a game which the princes kept playing from one end of Europe to the other, thus hazarding, almost upon equal terms, the blood and the property of their people, and balancing fortune, for a long time, by a compensation of exploits, mistakes, and losses. It is very difficult to gain ground in Italy; for on the side of Piedmont, a single rock may cost a whole army; and towards Lombardy the country is intersected with rivers and canals.

Count Gages had passed the Panaro, and attacked count Traun. These two generals fought
a battle

a battle in February at Campo Santo, for which *Te Deum* was sung at Madrid and at Vienna; and this battle, which cost the lives of many brave soldiers on both sides, procured no advantage to either: but in Germany they expected something more decisive.

The marshal duke de Noailles, who commanded the army against the king of England, had bore arms since he was fifteen years of age: he had also commanded in Catalonia, and passed through all the offices that can be served under a government. He had the direction of the finances at the beginning of the regency. Thus he was a general, and a minister of state; and in all these employments he had constantly cultivated polite learning; an example formerly common among the Greeks and Romans, but very little followed at present in Europe. This general, by a particular operation, gained a superiority in the field. He kept along-side the king of England's army, who had the Maine between him and the French; and he cut off their provisions, by making himself master of all the passages both above and below their camp.

The king of England's head quarters were at Aschaffenburg, a town belonging to the elector of Mentz. He had taken this step contrary to the opinion of his general, the earl of Stair, which he had reason to repent; for his army was now blocked up, and almost starved by marshal Noailles; and the soldiers were reduced to half-allowance. The king found himself, at length, under a necessity of retreating, in order to seek provisions at Hanau, in the road to

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Francfort;

Francfort; but, in his retreat, he was exposed to the batteries of the enemy's cannon, which were erected along the banks of the Maine. Thus he was obliged to make a precipitate march with an army weakened by want ‡, and whose rear might be cut off by the French: for marshal Noailles had the precaution to throw bridges over the river between Dettingen and Aschaffenburg, on the road to Hanau; and to the mistakes already committed, the English added this, of letting them erect those bridges. The 26th of June, in the middle of the night, the king of England gave orders for his army to decamp without beat of drum, when he ventured upon this precipitate and dangerous, but necessary march.

Count Noailles, who incamped along the Maine, was the first that perceived it, and immediately sent word to his father. The marshal rose, and saw the English on their march, in this dangerous road betwixt a mountain, and a river. Upon which he instantly orders thirty squadrons, composed of the king's household, of the dragoons, and hussars, to advance towards the village of Dettingen, before which the English were to pass; and he caused four brigades of infantry, with that of the French guards, to march over two bridges. These troops had particular directions to remain posted in the village of Dettingen, on this side of a hollow

‡ They were in so great a distress for want of forage, that it was proposed to hamstring the horses; and they would have done so, had they continued two days longer in this situation.

a hollow way, where they were not perceived by the English, while the marshal saw every step the enemy took. M. de Valiere, lieutenant-general, a person who had carried the service of the artillery as far as it could go, held the enemy thus in a defile between two batteries, which kept playing upon them from the opposite bank. They were to pass through a hollow way between Dettingen and a little rivulet; the French were not to fall upon them but with undoubted advantage in the situation of the ground; so that a snare was laid for them, and the king of England himself was in danger of being taken. In short, this was one of those critical moments which might have put an end to the war.

The marshal recommended to his nephew, the duke of Grammont, lieutenant-general, and colonel of the guards, to wait in this position till the enemy fell into his hands. In the mean time he went to reconnoitre a ford, in order to advance some more cavalry, and the better to discover the situation of the enemy. Most of the officers said, that it would have been better if he had continued at the head of his army, to enforce his orders, and make himself obeyed; but had the day proved fortunate, this mistake would not have been laid to his charge. Be that as it may, he sent five brigades to take possession of the post of Aschaffenburg; so that the English were hemmed in on every side.

All these measures were disconcerted by one single moment of impatience. The duke of Grammont thought that the enemy's first column had passed, and that he had only to fall

upon a rear-guard, incapable of making any resistance: with this view, he made his troops pass the hollow way. The duke de Chevreuse represented to him the danger of this unseasonable courage; and the count de Noailles earnestly desired him to wait for his father's return. The duke of Grammont, whose motions were now perceived by the English, thought he ought not to turn back: he therefore quitted the advantageous situation, where he should have remained, and advanced, with the regiment of guards, and Noailles's regiment of foot, into a small plain called *the cock pit*. The English, who were filing off in order of battle, soon formed. Their whole army consisted of fifty thousand men; to oppose whom there were only thirty squadrons, and five brigades of infantry. By this step the French, who had laid a snare for the enemy, fell into it themselves; they attacked the English in great disorder, and with unequal forces. The batteries which M. de Valiere had erected along the Maine, raked the enemy in flank, and especially the Hanoverians; but these had their batteries also, which fired against the front of the French troops. The advantage of cannon, so considerable a thing in an engagement, did not last long: for the artillery on the banks of the Maine was soon prevented from firing, because, in the confusion, it must have annoyed the French themselves. The marshal returned at the very moment this mistake had been committed; but it was too late to remedy it; and all he had now to depend upon was the ardour and bravery of the troops.

At the very first onset, the king's household troops, and the carabineers broke through two whole lines of the enemy's cavalry; but those lines immediately closed, and surrounded the French. The officers of the regiment of guards marched on boldly at the head of a very considerable body of infantry; one and twenty of those officers were killed upon the spot, as many dangerously wounded, and the regiment of guards was intirely routed.

The duke of Chartres, the prince of Clermont, the count d'Eu, the duke de Penthièvre, notwithstanding his great youth, exerted all their endeavours to put a stop to the disorder. Count Noailles had two horses killed under him; and his brother, the duke d'Ayen, was thrown to the ground.

The marquis of Puisegur, son of the marshal of that name, spoke to the soldiers of his regiment, ran after them, rallied all he could, and, with his own hand, killed some who would not fight any longer, but cried out, "Save himself who can." The princes and dukes of Biron, Luxemburg, Boufflers, Chevreuse, Piquigny, put themselves at the head of the brigades they met with, and plunged into the enemy's lines.

On the other hand, the king's household troop, and the carabineers were not dismayed: here one might see a company of guards, and two hundred musketeers; there a few companies of cavalry advancing with the light horse; with others following the carabineers, or horse-grenadiers, and riding full gallop upon the English, with more bravery than discipline. And indeed there

there was so little order observed, that about fifty musketeers, transported by their courage, forced their way through a regiment of horse called the *Scotch Greys*, a corps renowned in England, and composed of all picked men, extremely well mounted. We may imagine what could fifty young men do, mounted on middling horses, against a body so superior in number. They were almost all killed, wounded, or taken prisoners: the marquis of Fenelon's son was taken in the very last rank of the regiment of Greys. Seven and twenty officers of the king's household troops perished in this engagement, and sixty six were dangerously wounded. The count d'Eu, count d'Harcourt, count de Biron, and the duke of Boufflers, were wounded. The count de la Motte-Houdancourt, first gentleman usher to the queen, had his horse killed under him, was a long time trode under foot by the horses, and carried off almost dead. The marquis de Gontaud had his arm broken; the duke de Rochechouart, first lord of the chamber, having been twice wounded, and still continuing to fight, was killed on the spot. The marquises de Sabran and de Fleury, the count d'Estrade, and the count de Rostaing, were among the number of the slain.

Amidst all the singularities of this fatal day, we ought not to omit the death of a count of Boufflers, of the branch of Remiencourt. This was only a child of ten years and a half old, whose leg was shattered by a cannon ball; he received the wound, saw his leg cut off, and died with equal undauntedness. So much youth,
with

with so much courage, drew tears from all the spectators.

The loss was very near as great among the English officers. The king of England fought on foot and on horseback; sometimes at the head of his cavalry, and sometimes at the head of his infantry. The duke of Cumberland was wounded in the leg; the duke of Aremberg, who commanded the Austrians, was wounded by a musket-ball on the upper part of his breast; and the English lost some general officers. The battle lasted three hours; but the terms were very unequal: courage alone was engaged against valour, number, and discipline. At length marshal Noailles ordered a retreat; which was accordingly made, though not without some confusion. The king of England dined on the field of battle; from whence he afterwards retired, without giving time to his troops to carry off all his wounded. About six hundred of them were left behind, whom my lord Stair recommended to the generosity of marshal Noailles. The French treated them as their own countrymen. These two nations behaved to each other with humanity and respect: whereas the Hungarians, a less civilized people, had shewn, during the whole course of this war, a spirit of barbarity and rapine.

Letters passed between the two generals, which are a convincing proof how far politeness and humanity may be carried amidst the horrors of war. My lord Stair wrote from Hanau to the marshal, the 30th of June, these very words: "I have sent back all the French prisoners that
I had

“ I had any knowledge of, and have given orders, that those who are in the hands of the Hanoverians shall be released. Give me leave to return you my thanks for your generous behaviour, which is intirely agreeable to the sentiments I have always professed to entertain for the duke of Noailles. I am obliged to you, Sir, for the care you have so generously taken of our wounded.”

This greatness of mind was not particular to the earl of Stair and the duke of Noailles : the duke of Cumberland did also an act of generosity which deserves to be transmitted to posterity ; a musketeer, named *Girardeau*, who had been dangerously wounded, was brought near the duke's tent ; they wanted surgeons, and those they had were extremely busy. At this very instant they were going to dress the duke, who had been wounded in the calf of his leg by a musket-ball ; “ Begin,” said the prince, “ with dressing that French officer's wound ; he is more hurt than I ; perhaps he may want assistance, which cannot be my case.” In other respects the loss was pretty equal in both armies. On the side of the allies there were two thousand two hundred and thirty one killed and wounded. This was the calculation given by the English, who seldom diminish their own loss, or exaggerate that of their enemy.

This battle was very like that of Gzasslaw in Bohemia, or of Campo Santo in Italy. Both sides shewed great bravery ; there was a great deal of blood spilt, and neither reaped any advantage. The French lost a great deal in frustrating one
of

of the best dispositions that ever was made, by their precipitate ardour and want of discipline, which formerly made them lose the battles of Poitiers and Creci. The king of England gained great honour, but all the advantage he acquired, was precipitately to quit the field of battle, in order to seek provisions at Hanau. The writer of this history having met my lord Stair some weeks after the battle, took the liberty to ask him what he thought of the affair of Dettin-gen? "I think," said this general, "that you committed one mistake, and we two: yours was the passing the hollow way, and not having patience to wait; ours was, first exposing ourselves to destruction, and then not making a proper use of our victory."

None had greater reason to complain than marshal Noailles: he saw himself robbed of the glory of this day, which, perhaps, would have put an end to the war, by an inconsiderate ardour; and yet he complained of no body; he accused no body. His friendship for his nephew prevailed over the care of his own justification; he contented himself with writing a wise, eloquent, and instructive letter to the king, wherein he represented the extreme necessity of re-establishing the military discipline.

After this engagement, a great many French and English officers went to Francfort, a neutral city, where the emperor was then retired, and where he saw my lord Stair and marshal Noailles, one after the other, without being able to express any other sentiments to them, than those of extreme patience under his misfortunes.

The precipitate retreat which marshal Broglio was making at the same time from the frontiers of Bavaria, was yet more fatal to the emperor than the loss of the battle of Dettingen. This general had been long dissatisfied with marshal Seckendorff, who commanded the Bavarians, and he had always declared, even before the campaign, that he was not able to keep Bavaria. He set out from thence towards the end of June, just when the emperor, finding himself no longer in safety at Augsburg, was retired to Francfort, where he arrived the evening of the 27th, the very day the battle was fought.

Marshal Noailles found the emperor terribly vexed at Broglio's retreat, and, to complete his misfortunes, destitute of means of supporting his family in this imperial city, where no body would advance a shilling to the head of the empire. The marshal gave him forty thousand crowns upon a letter of credit, being very certain that this act would not be disapproved of by the king his master.

Marshal Broglio, at the time of his retreating, left the emperor in possession of Straubing, of Ingolstadt on the Danube, and of Egra on the Eger, upon the borders of the Upper Palatinate, which were all three blocked up. There were likewise some Bavarian troops in Braunaw, which the Austrians, masters of all the adjacent country †, had, for a long time, neglected to besiege in form; but it soon capitulated. Straubing, which had a garison of twelve hundred, men quickly followed this example. These twelve hundred men were conducted to the main army, which

† July 4r

which was abandoning Bavaria, and marching towards the Neckar. Here they arrived at length, but diminished at least by five and twenty thousand, of whom they had been deprived by desertions, and especially by sickness, more than by the enemy's sword.

The point was now no longer, to put the emperor Charles VII. in possession of Vienna or Prague: they were obliged to come back, in order to defend the frontiers of France against two armies; one commanded by prince Charles, the other by the king of England, and both victorious. In three campaigns the French had sent above a hundred and twenty thousand men into Bavaria and Bohemia to the emperor's assistance. Of all these troops marshal Broglio brought back about thirty thousand. The emperor, in the utmost despair, insisted on the king's sending Broglio into banishment; and the king thought this satisfaction due to that prince's complaints, and this weak and useless consolation to his misfortunes.

So many repeated attempts having all proved ineffectual in this grand enterprise, one would think there must have been some radical defect which rendered them all abortive. Perhaps this radical defect proceeded from this, that as the Bavarian emperor had no strong towns, nor good troops in his dominions, and as he had only a foreign and strained authority over the French troops, and, by his bad state of health, was rendered incapable of pushing on the war vigorously against an enemy who was every day growing more powerful; all this was of very

great prejudice to his affairs. To begin such enterprises, a person should be able to act by himself; for never did any prince make a conquest of importance, merely by another's assistance.

CHAP. VII.

Fresh misfortunes of the emperor Charles VII. New treaty against his enemies. Lewis XV. supports, at the same time, the emperor, Don Philip Infant of Spain, and prince Charles, who attempts to ascend the throne of his ancestors in England. Battle of Toulon.

THE emperor continued in Francfort, in appearance, without either allies or foes, or even without subjects. For the queen had exacted an oath of allegiance from all the inhabitants of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate. The Bavarian emperor protested in Francfort against this oath required of his subjects †. A printer of the town of Stadamhof was hanged in the public market-place, for printing this protest made by his sovereign. But their outrages did not stop here; the council of Austria, some time after, caused memorials to be presented, even in the town of Francfort, to the imperial diet, in which the election of Charles VII. was treated as *null, and absolutely void*. The new elector of Mentz, high chancellor of the empire, and who had been raised to this dignity in spite of the emperor, registered these pieces in the
protocol

† August 22. 1743.

protocol of the empire. Charles VII. could only complain, which he did by his rescripts; but, to complete his misery, the king of England, in quality of elector of Hanover, wrote to him, that the queen of Hungary and the elector of Mentz were in the right. In fine, they talked of obliging him to resign the imperial crown to the duke of Tuscany.

In the mean time, the emperor having declared himself neuter, while they were stripping him of his dominions, the king of France, who had taken up arms upon his account, had much more reason to declare, that he would not any longer concern himself in the affairs of the empire. This is what he solemnly did by his ministers at Ratisbon, so early as the 26th of July. At any other time such a disposition might have produced a general peace; but England and Austria wanted to improve their advantage. These powers pretended to oblige the emperor to desire, that the grand duke, his enemy, should be king of the Romans; and they flattered themselves with the hopes of penetrating into Alsace and Lorrain. In this manner was an offensive war, which first began at the gates of Vienna, turned into a defensive one on the banks of the Rhine.

Prince Charles of Lorrain had made a lodgement, the 4th of August, in an isle of this river, near Old Brisac. On the other side, different parties of Hussars had penetrated beyond the Sarre, and attacked the frontiers of Lorrain. This same Mentzel, who was the first that took Munich, had the insolence to spread, under the

name of declaration or manifesto, a writing, addressed, the 20th of August, to the provinces of Alsace, Burgundy, Franche-Compte', and the three bishopricks; wherein he invited the people, in the name of the queen of Hungary, to return, if I may use his terms, to their allegiance to the house of Austria. He likewise threatened such of the inhabitants as should take up arms against that house, to hang them without mercy, after first obliging them to cut off their noses and ears with their own hands. Such brutal ferocity excited nothing but contempt; the frontiers were well guarded; and a detachment of prince Charles's army having passed the Rhine, were cut in pieces, the 4th of August, by count Berenger.

The army under marshal Noailles encamped in the neighbourhood of Spire, at the end of July. Count Maurice of Saxony was in Upper Alsace, with the remains of Broglio's army, and some troops drawn from the frontier towns. The duke of Harcourt commanded on the Moselle, and the marquis of Montal guarded Lorraine. To defend these frontiers was not enough; an open war was foreseen with the king of England, and likewise with the king of Sardinia, who had not indeed as yet concluded a definitive treaty with the court of Vienna, yet was as closely united with that court, as if such a treaty had been signed.

France, then deserted by Prussia, Lewis XV. was just in the same case as his great grandfather, united with Spain against the forces of a new house of Austria, of England, Holland, and Savoy.

voy. To oppose such a confederacy, he ordered several men of war to be built and fitted out at Br st; he increased his land-forces, and sent about twelve thousand men to the assistance of Don Philip; a very inconsiderable succour in comparison to the troops which he had lavished away upon the Bavarian emperor; but of more real service, because it was to assist a young prince who expected his establishment from the forces of Spain. The king, not content with aiding his allies, and protecting his frontiers, wanted to put himself at the head of his army in Alsace, and had prepared his field equipages for that purpose. He acquainted marshal Noailles with his design, who answered him in these very words: "Your affairs are neither in so prosperous nor so declining a way, as to justify your majesty's taking this step." He alledged several other arguments which satisfied the king, who was determined, however, to make the next campaign.

Of the various conquests which France had made in favour of the emperor, there remained now only Egra in Bohemia, and Ingolstadt on the Danube in Bavaria.

The extremities to which the French were reduced in Egra, were become more severe than those which they had suffered at Prague. They had hardly tasted any bread for above eight months; and the soldiers that ventured out to gather a little pulse in the country, were sure to be killed by the Pandours. They had neither provisions nor money, nor hopes of succour. The marquis of Herouville, who commanded

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in the town, with six battalions, caused some obfidential money to be coined, the use of which began first at the siege of Pavia under Francis I. That which they coined at Egra was half-sous of pewter. This metal, however, might supply the want of silver, but could not remedy that of provisions. It is true, the marquis of Desalleurs sent from Saxony a convoy of provisions to Egra, but they fell into the hands of the besiegers; so that the French were, at length, obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war †. The officers and soldiers were dispersed in different parts of Bohemia and Austria, where they found a great many of their countrymen. There were above nine thousand in all, who had been taken in the course of three years. They were very cruelly used, the spirit of revenge combining with the rigour of war, and the antient antipathy of the two nations.

* Those who defended Ingolstadt met with a better fate. M. de Grandville, who commanded the garison of that fortress, consisting of about three thousand men, not only obtained a free retreat, but likewise insisted, that general Bernclau, who besieged the town, should give the French, who were scattered in the parts of Bavaria under his command, free liberty to return to their own country *. This is the first instance of a garison capitulating for the liberty of other troops.

In the mean time, neither prince Charles, nor the king of England, made any progress against the French upon the Rhine; and the remainder

† September 6. 1743.

* October 5. 1743.

of this campaign justified what marshall Noailles had wrote to the king, that his affairs were neither in an advantageous, nor in a desperate condition.

The contending powers were all fluctuating betwixt hope and fear. Every one of them had losses and misfortunes to repair. Naples and Sicily were afflicted with the scourge of pestilence, and preparing for that of war. They had, moreover, some reason to be afraid of conspiracies in favour of the house of Austria. The king of Naples having increased his army to the number of about twenty six thousand men, employed twelve thousand of them in guarding the frontiers of Calabria against the contagion, by forming a chain of a vast extent; the remainder of his army, on the frontiers of Abruzzo, waited for a favourable conjuncture to act in concert with the Spanish army of the king his father, at that time commanded by the duke of Modena and count Gages. The city of Naples was put into a posture of defence, and no longer had any occasion to be afraid of the insulting orders of an English commodore. Don Philip was in Savoy, waiting for an opportunity either of coming to an agreement with the king of Sardinia, or of being able to overcome him with the assistance of France. The king of Sardinia, having balanced the danger and advantage on both sides, thought it his interest, at length, to enter into a closer connection with Austria and England against the house of Bourbon. It was now above a year since he had joined his forces to the queen of Hungary's; for he was not, as yet,

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yet, her ally. But, at length, he entered into an express and effectual alliance at Worms, the 13th of September 1743, an alliance in a great measure owing to the bad success of the French arms in Germany.

This prince had gained the Tortonese, the Valais, a part of the Novarese, and the territorial superiority of the fiefs of Langhes, by fighting against Mary Teresa's father. And now he acquired the Vigevanasco, the remainder of the Novarese, with the duchy of Parma and Placentia, by declaring in favour of the daughter. The English, who had already given him some subsidies, by the present treaty engaged to grant him L. 200,000 Sterling a year. He was then at the head of an army of thirty thousand men; and the English fleet, under the command of admiral Matthews, was cruising on the coast, in order to favour his designs. But he lost the fruit of his present advantage; and the event afterwards proved, that this antient maxim, *A moiety is worth more than the whole*, is oftentimes true.

By this treaty the queen of Hungary resigned the marquisate of Finat to him, though it was neither his nor her property. It belonged to the Genoese, who had bought it for two hundred thousand crowns, of the late emperor Charles VI. Neither was there any proper care taken to reimburse them this money; for though the king of Sardinia offered them those two hundred thousand crowns, yet he demanded, at the same time, that they should rebuild the castle they had demolished, which would have cost them more than the money he offered. This liberali-

ty of other people's property, gained France another ally. Genoa was already in the French interest in secret; but now it entered into a closer connexion with that nation. Its harbour might be of very great service, and the English fleet could not always ly before it. In short, the king of Sardinia absolutely obliged the Genoese to become his declared enemies, and paved the way for a very dangerous diversion against himself: for, at this very time, Don Philip, having once more taken possession of Savoy, on the 18th of September 1742, was preparing to pass the Alps; and the Spanish and Neopolitan armies might join in the territory of Bologna, or even in Lombardy.

The fortune of war was therefore to decide, whether the two brothers, Don Carlos king of Sicily, and the Infant Don Philip, should penetrate to the middle of Italy; or whether the king of Sardinia, on the one side, should guard the passage of the Alps, and, on the other, the queen of Hungary should be able to take possession of the kingdom of Naples, notwithstanding the neutrality still observed by her and by Don Carlos.

In the mean time, England and Austria depended on attacking the French in Alsace and Flanders early in the spring, and preparations were making on all sides for renewing the fiercest hostilities. Yet there was no declared rupture at this time, except between England and Spain, in regard to the American commerce; a rupture which seemed to have no relation,

though it had indeed a very essential one, to the interests which divided Europe.

The emperor, Charles VII. stripped of all his territories, seemed to have no resource at all left, while Lewis XV. was still making preparations to assist him : and the king of Prussia, notwithstanding the treaty of Breslaw, and a defensive alliance betwixt him and the king of England *, was so much the more in the emperor's interest, as he could no longer doubt of the design which the court of Vienna had formed, of recovering Silesia the first opportunity. The courts of France and Prussia began then to unite once more for the common cause, and for the interests of the emperor, who seemed to have been quite abandoned by fortune, and by all the world.

In the beginning of 1744, the king of France took the resolution of declaring war against the king of England and the queen of Hungary. He had no longer any measures to keep, either with the English, who continually insulted his ships, or with Austria, who threatned to remove the seat of war into France, and who, notwithstanding a cartel settled in 1741, refused to return any of the French prisoners. The first fruit of this revolution was a secret and hardy enterprize, the success of which might suddenly produce a great revolution in one part of Europe.

The family of Stuart, which, for the space of fifty four years, had lived in a melancholy exile, far from the kingdoms of which it had been stripped, had still a great many secret adherents in Scotland and Ireland, and even some few in England.

Prince

* Concluded the 18th of November 1742.

Prince Charles Edward, grandson of James II. king of England, and son of the unfortunate prince so well known in Europe by the name of the *Pretender*, was now in the flower of his youth, and had shewn marks of the most resolute courage, heightened by the resentment of his condition. Several times had he been heard to say, that his head must either fall off or be crowned. France, which had been a long time the asylum of his family, found herself now obliged to support his cause: and Lewis XV. might, probably, in his first campaign, restore the emperor to his dominions, and the heir of the house of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain. The young prince Edward set out from Rome the 9th of January 1744; and even in conducting his expedition acted with all the secrecy and diligence of a person born for great enterprises. He concealed his journey from a brother whom he tenderly loved, and who would not have consented to let him go by himself. The 13th he arrived at Genoa, in the disguise of a Spanish courier; where, attended by a single domestic, he embarked the next day for Antibes, and soon arrived at Paris.

The same secrecy was observed in France, in carrying on the necessary preparatives for conveying the prince to the coast of Great Britain. The king had made an effort which England little expected, considering the condition in which the French navy had been for many years. He had equipped, with incredible diligence, at Rochefort and Brest, six and twenty men of war; and a report was ordered to be spread, that this

squadron

squadron was intended to join the Spanish fleet which had lain at Toulon these two years, where it was blocked up by the English fleet under the command of admiral Matthews.

In the mean time, twenty ships of war, under the command of M. de Roquefeuille, with arms, ammunition, and four thousand land-men on board, set sail from Brest, and arrived between the isles of Ushant and the Sorlingues, where they were joined by five more sail from the port of Rochefort, under the command of M. du Barrail.

From thence the fleet entered the British channel, and divided into three squadrons. The strongest, which consisted of fourteen ships, sailed with a fair wind towards the Kentish coast; the second took its station between Calais and Boulogne; and the third advanced towards Dunkirk. Count Saxe was to have commanded that expedition. The first of March † he went on board at Dunkirk, with nine battalions; the count de Chaila embarked the next day with six.

Prince Edward was on board the same ship with count Saxe, when, for the first time, he beheld the coast of England. But a sudden storm arose, which threw the transport-ships on the French shore, where a great many soldiers were drowned attempting to get to land. The young prince was still impatient to try the passage with a single vessel; he flattered himself that his courage and resolution would raise him subjects as soon as he set foot on the British shore; but nei-

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ther the sea, nor the dispositions which they had time to make on the coast of England, would suffer him to put this hazardous design into execution.

They had received intelligence at London so early as the 15th of February of this expedition. The Dutch, in alliance with king George, had already sent him two thousand men, and were to furnish him with six thousand, according to the treaty of 1716. The English had a formidable fleet in the Downs, which form one continued harbour on the coast of Kent, where the ships are sheltered from tempests; and, besides, the militia were armed. Thus miscarried an enterprize, conducted with more art than any plot had ever yet been in England; for king George knew indeed there had been a conspiracy, but could never discover the authors of it. From the persons who were taken up in London, the government got no insight into the matter; so that they continued, as before, in perplexity and mistrust.

Circumstances were extremely favourable for such an enterprize. The English troops were abroad, quartered in different parts of the Austrian Netherlands. There was likewise another advantage attending this enterprize; it employed the English fleet, part of which might have been sent to reinforce admiral Matthews; and the scheme was, to fight this admiral with the men of war which France had left in the Mediterranean, joined to those of Spain, which were to come out of the harbour of Toulon, at the very

very time that prince Edward was to land in Great Britain.

There was, at that time, in Toulon, a fleet of sixteen Spanish men of war, which was, at first, designed to escort Don Philip to Italy; but these two years had been blocked up in that harbour by admiral Matthews's fleet, which lorded it in the Mediterranean, and insulted the whole coast of Italy and Provence. The Spanish gunners were not very expert in their art; for which reason they were exercised four months continually in firing at a point-blank mark, and prizes were proposed, to excite their industry and emulation.

As soon as they were become expert in their art, the Spanish squadron, commanded by Don Joseph Navarro, unmoored, and got out of Toulon road. This squadron consisted only of twelve sail, the Spaniards not having a sufficient number of seamen and gunners to man the sixteen. They were immediately joined by fourteen French ships, four frigates, and three fire ships, under the command of M. de Court, who, at the age of fourscore, had all the vigour of body and mind that such a command required. Forty years were elapsed since he had been at the sea-fight off Malaga, where he served as captain on board the admiral's ship; and, from that time, there had been no naval engagement in any part of the world except that off Messina in 1718. Admiral Matthews got under sail to meet the combined squadrons of France and Spain. It is proper here to observe, that the degree of admiral in England does not answer to the dignity

nity of admiral in France; and that there are three English admirals, each of whom commands a separate division of men of war, under the command of the lord high admiral, or of the board of admiralty.

Matthews's fleet consisted of forty five sail, five frigates, and four fire ships: with the advantage of number, he had also that of the wind, a circumstance on which the success of sea-engagements oftentimes depends, as on land it depends on an advantageous situation. The English are the first who drew up their naval forces in the order of battle observed at present; and it is of them that other nations have learned to divide their fleets into the van, the rear, and the centre. It must not be imagined, however, that these divisions are in three lines; they are only in one. The van is to the right, the rear to the left, and the centre in the middle; so that the ships never present more than one side.

In this order, therefore, did they fight in the battle off Toulon. The change of wind put the Spaniards in the rear. Admiral Matthews still availing himself of the advantage of the wind, fell upon them with his division. In an engagement the ships should never be above sixty fathoms from each other; where there is only this distance, they are as close as they ought to be, and there is never any reason to fear that a single ship shall be attacked by many; but it is very difficult for a whole fleet to govern itself in such a manner as always to preserve this distance. The Spanish ships were separated too wide from each other. At the very beginning of the engagement

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ment two of their men of war were disabled by the enemy's cannon ; and admiral Matthews had an opportunity of bearing down upon the Spanish admiral with several of his ships. The vessel, on board of which Don Navarro had hoisted his flag, was called the Real ; it mounted one hundred and ten pieces of cannon, and had about a thousand men. It was so strong built, that the planks, with the ribs, were about three feet thick, so that, in those parts, it was impenetrable to a cannon-ball. It is proper also to know, that the English fire more at the rigging than at the hulls of the enemy's ships, chusing rather to disable and take, than to sink them to the bottom. The Spanish admiral was attacked at the same time by the English admiral, and by four other ships of the line, which, all together, made a prodigious fire. Matthews depended on making an easy capture of her, trusting to his practice in naval affairs, and the inexperience of the Spaniards ; and, what doubled his hopes was, Navarro's being a land officer. Each Spanish ship was thus attacked by more than one English, and, of course, was expected to be overpowered. Every body on deck in the Royal Philip was either killed or wounded. The captain of the flag-ship received a mortal wound. Don Navarro was wounded in two places, and obliged to go under deck.

A French officer, in the service of Spain, named the chevalier de Lage, second captain of the admiral's flag-ship, maintained the engagement against five English sail. Admiral Matthews was surprised at the quickness with which the

the lower tire of the Spanish admiral fired from every side, and annoyed every ship within her reach : at length he sends a fire-ship against her. These are vessels loaded with gun-powder, grenades, and other combustible matter, which fasten themselves to the enemy's ships with grappling irons. At the instant they have grappled another vessel, they give fire to the train. The crew, in a hurry, take to their boat, and the captain enters it the last. In the mean time, the vessel being set on flames, is destroyed in an instant by the explosion of the powder, and blows up into the air, together with the vessel to which it is fastened.

This engine of destruction was within fifteen paces of the Royal Philip, when some of the officers proposed striking: M. de Lage answered, " You have then forgot that I am here." Upon which he brings three or four guns to bear, and aims them so sure, that every one takes place, and the fire-ship is just ready to sink. The captain, perceiving that he must inevitably perish, resolves, at least, to die revenged. He orders his men to give fire to the train, hoping still to be able to grapple the Real, and to blow up together in the air; but he had not time. His vessel takes fire, and flies into a thousand shatters, within seven or eight feet of the Spanish admiral, whose deck is all covered with them. M. de Lage said, that he saw the body of an English captain, and some sailors, reduced in an instant to a coal, not above two feet long, and as light as cork; and yet with this violent explosion the Real was not at all hurt.

Monsieur de Court, who had hoisted his flag on board the *Terrible*, in the centre of battle, was engaged single against three ships within pistol-shot. He did a great deal of mischief to the enemy ; and, getting clear of them, at length he came up to the assistance of the *Royal Philip*, and of the Spanish Squadron. The English, all this time, had been able to take only one single Spanish ship, named the *Podor*, which was entirely dismasted. They had already sent some of their hands to navigate this vessel ; and four hundred Spaniards on board had been obliged to surrender. Admiral Matthews's division was then retiring ; and the English in the *Podor*, busy in taking care of their prize, were made prisoners themselves. The superiority of number was of no service to the English ; for the rear, commanded by vice-admiral Lestock, was four miles distant : whether the vice-admiral, through pique against Matthews, wanted to deprive him of the glory of this day ; or whether admiral Matthews, on the other hand, did not chuse that Lestock should share the glory with him. At length, a west wind rising towards night, the different fleets were obliged to obey its call, and each to go and repair the damage they had sustained. The English retired to Portmahon, the French to Carthagea, and the Spaniards to Barcelona.

This action off Toulon proved a drawn battle, as almost all naval engagements commonly are (excepting that of the *Hogue*), where the whole fruit of vast preparations, and obstinate fighting, is to kill a great number of men on both

both sides, and to shoot the masts of the ships by the board. Each side complained; the Spaniards thought they were not properly supported by the French, and the latter charged the former with being ungrateful. These two nations, though allies at present, had not been always so: the antient antipathy used sometimes to rise in the breasts of the Spaniards, notwithstanding the friendship between the two kings. On the other hand, Matthews accused his vice-admiral to the government, and sent him back to London to be tried. The latter accused Matthews in his turn; and preparations were made in London to bring them both to their trial. The French commander did justice publicly to the English admiral, who also justified M. de Court. If it was cruel to be accused by the very friends for whom they fought, it was, on the other hand, glorious to be acquitted by the enemy. And yet, to satisfy the Spaniards, the French commander was banished for some months to his country-house, within two leagues of Paris. The English admiral was brought in guilty upon his trial, which lasted a long time; he was declared incapable of serving any more, by a council of war, which, in England, they call a court-martial. The custom of judging severely, and of stigmatizing unsuccessful generals, had been lately communicated from Turkey to the states of Christendom. The emperor Charles VI. set two examples of this severity, in his last war against the Turks, a war which was looked upon, in all parts of Europe, to have been worse conducted in the cabinet than in the field. The Swedes,

Swedes, since that time, condemned two of their generals to death, whose fate all Europe lamented; by this severity their government acquired neither more respect abroad, nor more happiness at home. The importance of this subject merits our dwelling a little upon it.

The French government, directed by principles of lenity, is satisfied with inflicting only a slight disgrace on occasions, when other states would put their general officers in irons, or bring them to the scaffold. To me it seems, that justice, and even good policy, require that the honour and life of a general should not depend on bad success. It is very certain, that a general does whatever lies in his power, unless he be a traitor or a rebel; and that there is very little justice in inflicting a cruel punishment upon a man who has done all that his abilities would permit: perhaps it is not even good policy to introduce the practice of prosecuting an unsuccessful general; for, by that means, those who begin a campaign very unfortunately in the service of their prince, might be tempted to go and finish it in the service of the enemy.

France and Spain, however, had the real advantage of this battle: the sea was open at least for some time; and the provisions which Don Philip wanted, were easily sent him from the coast of Provence. But neither the French nor Spanish fleets could oppose admiral Matthews when he came back to this coast, after he had refitted his ships. France and Spain being continually obliged to keep large standing armies on foot, have not that inexhaustible fund of seamen
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which is the great resource of the power of Great Britain. On this occasion it plainly appeared of what importance it was to the English to have kept possession of the isle of Minorca, and how prejudicial it was to the Spaniards to have lost it. Melancholy indeed was it to think, that these ocean-islanders should have deprived the Spanish monarchy of a harbour still more useful than Gibraltar; a harbour which, by its convenient situation, enabled them to disturb Spain, Italy, and the southern coast of France. The Spaniards had ports in Africa in spite of the Moors, and yet could not hinder the English from having ports in Spain.

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THE HISTORY OF

The WAR of 1741.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

The prince of Conti forces the passage of the Alps. Situation of affairs in Italy.

IN the midst of all these struggles, Lewis XV. declared war against king George †, and, soon after, against the queen of Hungary *: who declared it also against him in form: but, on both sides, it was no more than the addition of a ceremony. Spain and Naples made war without declaring it.

Don Philip, at the head of twenty thousand Spaniards, under the command of the marquis
U de la Mina,

† March 15. 1744.

* April 26.

de la Mina, and the prince of Conti, with twenty thousand French, both inspired their troops with that confidence and resolution which are requisite for penetrating into a country, where a single battalion may stop a whole army; where every moment you are obliged to fight among rocks and torrents, and where every other obstacle is heightened by the difficulty of convoys. The prince of Conti, who had served as a lieutenant-general in the unfortunate war of Bavaria, young as he was, had acquired experience, and understood the consequence of those disappointments to which an army is exposed almost every campaign. He had not, as yet, seen a campaign in Italy, where war is carried on in a quite different way from what is practised in champaign countries: but he had prepared himself for this expedition by a constant application of ten hours a-day, during the winter which he had spent at Paris. He could tell even the smallest rocks, and perfectly knew what had been performed under marshal Catinat and the duke of Vendome, as if he had been present himself.

The 1st of April, the Infant Don Philip, and the prince of Conti, passed the Var, a river which descends from the Alps, and empties itself into the sea of Genoa, below Nice. The whole county of that name surrendered: but, to advance any farther, they were under a necessity of attacking the entrenchments near Villa Franca, and those of the fortrefs of Montalban, in the midst of rocks, which form a long chain of almost inaccessible ramparts. There was no possibility of marching but through nar-

row defiles, and over frightful precipices, exposed to the enemy's artillery. Under this fire they were obliged to climb up from rock to rock. Even on the Alps they had the English to encounter. Admiral Matthews, after having careened his ships, was returned to assume the empire of the seas. He landed with some of his men at Villafranca, who joined the Piedmontese; and his gunners served the artillery. But the prince of Conti concerted his measures so well, and his troops were so greatly animated, that these obstacles were all surmounted. The marquis de Bissy, at the head of the French, and the marquis de Campo Santo, at the head of the Spaniards, soon made themselves masters of the enemy's batteries which flanked the passage of Villafranca. M. de Mirepoix, and M. d'Argouges, opened themselves another way. They made four false attacks where they had no intention to penetrate: but M. de Bissy made two such brisk assaults against those places which he intended to carry; every thing was so well concerted, so quick, and so vigorously pushed; M. d'Argouges, at the head of the regiments of Languedoc, and of the isle of France, and M. du Barrail, with his regiment, made such prodigious efforts, that this rampart of Piedmont, above two hundred fathoms high, which the king of Sardinia imagined to be quite out of their reach, was carried by the French and Spaniards †.

On the one side, M. du Chatel, and M. de Castelar, ascended through very narrow byways to an eminence called mount Eleus, from whence they drove the Piedmontese; on the other side,

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† April 19. 1744.

the marquis de Bissy fought for two hours on the top of a rock called Monte Grosso. When the French and Spaniards had clambered up to the top of the rock, seeing they must either conquer or die, they treated one another as brothers; they assisted each other with ardour, and with joint forces they battered down the entrenchments of the enemy. This rock was defended by fourteen battalions, who had a secure retreat. One hundred and thirty officers of the Piedmontese, with seventeen hundred men, were taken prisoners, and two thousand were killed. The marquis de Suze, natural brother of the king of Sardinia, was obliged to surrender himself prisoner to M. de Bissy. The top of the mountain on which the marquis du Chatel had taken post, commanded the enemy's entrenchments; so that, at length, they were obliged to fly to Oneglia, to the number of three thousand men, and embark on board admiral Matthews's fleet, who was witness of the defeat. The count de Choiseul brought the king the news of this victory, in which this officer had distinguished himself. They advanced from post to post, from rock to rock; they took the citadel of Villáfranca, and the fort of Montalban, where they found above one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with provisions in proportion. But all this ended only in sharing the dominion of the Alps, and in fighting on the top of high mountains.

While they were forcing these passes for Don Philip, he was not yet much nearer the country to which he pretended in Italy. The duke of

Modena

† August 25.

Modena was also as far from retaking the Modenese, as the Infant from penetrating to Parma and Milan. The Austrians and the Piedmontese were masters every where, from the top of the Alps to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples. The court of Spain had recalled the duke of Montemar; and count Gages, under the duke of Modena, was gathering the remains of the Spanish army, which was still retiring before the Austrians, who had already laid the province of Abruzzo under contribution. The king of Naples could no longer observe an unlucky neutrality, which was greatly abused, and would have only contributed to deprive him of his crown. He therefore set out from Naples to put himself at the head of his army. The queen, who was then pregnant, withdrew to Cajeta the latter end of April 1744; and even some mention was made of removing her to Rome, in case of any unlucky blow, or of an insurrection in Naples, with which the Austrians affected to frighten him. Such was the vicissitude of affairs, that the queen of Hungary, who, three years before had been obliged to leave Vienna, thought herself very near making a conquest of the kingdom of Naples. Prince Lobkowitz had a manifesto ready, copies of which he afterwards spread through the kingdom towards the month of June, wherein the queen of Hungary addressed herself to the inhabitants of the two Sicilies, as to subjects to whom she was granting her protection.

England, at this time, exerted herself more than ever in this queen's cause; she augmented her

her subsidies, and spent upon the war, this year 1744, two hundred and seventy four millions, nine hundred and sixty four thousand livres, French money; an expence which increased every year. She maintained a fleet in the Mediterranean, which ruined the whole trade of Provence: the troops that fought at Dettingen she recalled back to Flanders; and these, joined to the Flemish and Dutch regiments, formed, in the beginning of the campaign, an army of above sixty thousand men. Prince Charles, with the like number of forces, was coming to attempt, once more, the passage of the Rhine. The emperor, whose neutrality was imaginary, while his misfortunes were but too real, preserved the shattered remains of his army under the cannon of the imperial city of Philipsburg; and, at Francfort waited for his fate, dubious whether he should be maintained in possession of the imperial crown by France, or stripped of it by the queen of Hungary.

C H A P. II.

First campaign of Lewis XV. in Flanders. His successes. He leaves Flanders, to fly to the defence of Alsace, invaded by the Austrians, whilst the prince of Conti continues to force a passage through the Alps. New alliances. The king of Prussia once more takes up arms.

THINGS were thus dangerously circumstanced * when Lewis XV. began his first campaign 1744. He had appointed marshal Coigni to defend

* 1744.

defend the passage of the Rhine with sixty one battalions and one hundred squadrons. The Bavarian troops, consisting of near twelve thousand men, and paid by France, were commanded by count Seckendorff, the very same officer on whom, at that time, they so greatly depended. Marshal Noailles was general of the army in Flanders, which consisted of sixty eight battalions, and ninety seven squadrons complete. Count Saxe was made marshal of France, and commanded a separate corps, composed of thirty two battalions and fifty eight squadrons, also complete. Thus the whole French army in Flanders amounted to above eighty thousand fighting men.

There still remained, on the Rhine and the Moselle, seventy five battalions, and one hundred and forty six squadrons, without reckoning the army in Italy, thirty thousand militia, the garisons, the light troops, the Bavarians, the Palatines, and the Hessians. This situation, especially in Flanders, was very different from what it had been the preceding year at the death of cardinal Fleury. The English might then have attacked the French frontiers with advantage. They came now, when the opportunity was past; and the Dutch, having refused to engage with them when this enterprise was easy, at length engaged when it was become impracticable.

The king chose rather to make the campaign in Flanders than in Alsace, reckoning, that, upon the Rhine, it would be only a defensive war;

war; whereas every thing was disposed for making it offensive in the Austrian Netherlands.

As it was not known that he had been ready, the preceding year, to head his army in person, so it was a long time before the public knew that he was to set out for Flanders; with such secrecy did he conduct even those things which are generally preceded by a pompous parade. It is natural for a people who have been governed these eight hundred years by the same family, to love their king; besides, he had only one son, the Dauphin, who was not yet married: all these circumstances gave rise to uncommon movements of zeal and affection, mixed with joy and fear, in the breasts of the inhabitants of Paris.

The king reviewed his army in the neighbourhood of Lisle, and made some new regulations for the establishing of military discipline; a thing difficult to maintain, and, at that time, greatly wanted. His aid-de-camps were, M. M. de Meuze, de Richelieu, de Luxemburg, de Boufflers, d'Aumont, d'Ayen, de Soubise, and de Piquigny. The enemy were commanded by general Wade, an old officer, bred, like the earl of Stair, under the duke of Marlborough, and well acquainted with every part of Flanders, where he had served a great many campaigns: from his experience and abilities the English had great expectations. The duke of Aremberg, of the house of Ligne, governor of Mons, and grand bailiff of Hainault, had the command of the queen of Hungary's troops. This nobleman had spent a great part of his life at the court
of

of France, where his person was extremely liked: his inclination led him to live among the French, and his duty to fight against them. He was a pupil of prince Eugene, had served against the Turks and the French, and contributed not a little to the success of the battles of Belgrade and Dettingen, having been wounded in both at the head of his troops.

Count Maurice of Nassau, who commanded the Dutch, was a descendent of the celebrated prince Maurice of Nassau, one of the three brothers to whom the United Provinces were indebted for their liberty and grandeur. This prince happening to die before he could fulfil the promise of marriage which he had made to his mistress, madam de Mechelin, his posterity were deprived of the honours annexed to his house.

Those three generals had it in their power to oppose the king's designs, had they been united; but the Dutch were temporising and negotiating. On the one hand, they were strongly pressed by the English to fulfil the treaty of alliance concluded between them in 1678, by which they are mutually bound to declare war, within the space of two months, against any power that should attack either of the two nations. On the other hand, they flattered themselves with keeping the appearances of moderation, even in war itself; they were arming against the king, and yet were afraid of provoking him. In this dilemma they deputed count Wassenaar to him, a person agreeable to the court of France, where he had been formerly in a public character, and where his frankness and complaisance, with other

amiable qualities, had procured him a great many friends. The count used the most respectful and the most insinuating language to the king, desiring protection for his person, and peace for Europe.

The king answered, "The choice, Sir, which the States General have made of you, cannot but be agreeable to me, from the knowledge I have of your personal merit. My whole conduct towards your republic, since my accession to the crown, should have convinced her, how desirous I was to maintain a sincere friendship and perfect correspondence with her."

"I have long and sufficiently made known my inclination to peace ; but the more I have delayed to declare war, the less shall I suspend its operations. My ministers will give me an account of the commission with which you are charged ; and, after I have communicated it to my allies, I shall let your masters know my ultimate resolutions."

The 18th of May the king made himself master of Courtray, a small town, which had an Austrian garison. The day following the Dutch ambassador saw him invest Menin, a barrier town, defended by the troops of the republic, to the number of fifteen hundred men.

Menin was far from being a little paltry town, as some journalists are pleased to call it : on the contrary, it was one of the celebrated Vauban's master-pieces. He built this fortification with some regret, foreseeing that, one day or other,

we should be obliged to surrender it to strangers, who would enjoy the fruit of French ingenuity.

The king reconnoitered the place several times; he even approached within pistol-shot of the pallisade, with marshal Noailles, count d'Argenson, and all his court. The trenches were opened the 29th of May. The king encouraged the pioneers by his liberality, ordering a hundred and fifty luidores to those who worked at the attack towards the gate of Ipres, and a hundred to those who worked towards the gate of Lisle. At the assault commanded by prince Clermont, they carried all the works with the utmost rapidity, and they drained the inundations made by the besieged. The covert-way was taken the 4th of June; the 5th the town capitulated, and was the first the king took in person. The commanding officer was permitted to march out with all military honours.

The king thought proper to demolish the fortifications of this town, on which such great sums had been expended. This was shewing an instance of moderation to the States General, by letting them see he did not intend to make use of this fortress against them; and, at the same time, was taking some revenge, and learning them to shew a greater respect to France, by demolishing one of their barriers.

The very next day * the king caused Ipres to be invested; and while preparations were making for the siege, he assisted at a *Deum* in Lisle, such as had never been seen on those frontiers †.

X 2

Three

* June 6. 1744.

† June 15.

Three princesses of the blood, whose husbands, brothers, sons, or sons-in-law, were fighting in different places for the king, adorned this ceremony. The duchess of Modena had accompanied her nephew, the duke of Chartres, into Flanders, along with the duke of Penthièvre, who was on the point of marrying her daughter; while her husband, the duke of Modena, was at the head of the Spanish army in Italy. The duchess of Chartres had followed her husband; and the princess of Conti, whose son was, at that time, upon the Alps, and whose daughter was married to the duke of Chartres, accompanied those two princesses.

The prince of Clermont, abbot of St Germain des-Pres, commanded the principal attacks at the siege of Ipres. There had been no instance, since the cardinals de la Valette and de Sourdis, of a person in whom both professions, the gown and the sword, were united. The prince of Clermont had obtained this permission from pope Clement XII. who thought fit that the church should be subordinate to the army in the grandson of the great Conde'. They stormed the covert-way of the front of the lower town, though this enterprize appeared premature and hazardous. The marquis de Beaveau, major-general, marched to the assault at the head of the grenadiers of Bourbonnois and Royal-Comtois, where he received a mortal wound, which gave him the most excruciating pain. In this torment he died, regretted by all the officers and soldiers, as a person capable of commanding, one day, the armies of France; and lamented by

by all Paris, as a man of probity and wit. He was one of the most curious antiquarians in Europe, having formed a cabinet of very scarce medals; and was the only man then of his profession that cultivated this kind of literature.

The king ordered rewards to be given to all the officers of grenadiers who had attacked the covert-way and carried it. Ipres soon capitulated *. Not one moment was lost. Whilst they were entering Ipres, the duke of Boufflers took fort Knock: and whilst the king †, after these expeditions, went to visit the frontier towns, the prince of Clermont laid siege to Furnes, which capitulated ‡ after five days open trenches.

The allied army looked on the progress of the French, without being able to oppose it. The body of troops commanded by marshal Saxe was so well posted, and covered the besieging army so well, that they could not but be sure of success. The allies had no fixed, no determinate plan of operations: those of the French army were all concerted. Marshal Saxe was posted at Courtray, where he was able to prevent any attempt of the enemy, and to facilitate the operations of the besiegers. A numerous artillery, which was easily brought from Doway; a regiment of artillery, consisting of near five thousand men, full of officers, capable of conducting a siege, and composed of soldiers, most of them very able artists; in short, a very considerable body of engineers, were advantages which could not be enjoyed by nations that had hastily united only to wage war together for a few years. Establishments

* June 25. † June 29. ‡ July 11.

stablishments of this kind must be the fruit of time, and of the constant attention of a powerful monarchy. A war whose operations consist chiefly in sieges, must needs give the superiority to France.

In the midst of all these successes, advice came that the enemy had passed the Rhine, towards Spire, within sight of the French and Bavarians; that Alsace was invaded, and the frontiers of Lorraine exposed. At first no body would believe it; but nothing was more certain. Prince Charles, by alarming the French in several places, and making different attempts at one and the same time, at length † succeeded on the side where count Seckendorff was posted, who commanded the Bavarians, Palatines, and Hessians.

This passage of the Rhine, which did such honour to prince Charles, was the fruit of his diligence, and the consequence of the neglect with which the public voice in France reproached the general of the Bavarian troops. Count Seckendorff was on the other side of the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Philipsburgh, covered by that fortress, and able to awe any detachment of the enemy that should present themselves on that side. General Nadaſti advanced towards him, while the other divisions of the Austrian army bordered the river lower down, and kept the French at a bay. The Bavarians withdrew, and repassed the Rhine. Marshal Coigni was obliged to intrust count Seckendorff with the banks of the river towards Germersheim and Rinsabeau. The count undertook to defend them; and this was

† June 29, 30.

was the very place where prince Charles passed the Rhine.

A colonel of irregular troops, named Trenk, had succeeded Mentzel, who was killed a few days before. This man advanced softly towards a place that was covered with willows and other aquatic trees, followed by several boats loaded with Pandours, Waradins, and hussars. He silently reached the other side of the river towards Germersheim : about six thousand men came over, and, having advanced half a league, at length they met with three Bavarian regiments, whom they defeated and put to flight. Prince Charles caused a second bridge of boats to be built, over which his troops passed without opposition. Marshal Coigni being informed of this disaster, dispatched his son, and the marquis de Croissi, in all haste with a detachment of dragoons. The marquis du Chatelet Lomont followed them with ten battalions of the best regiments. They all arrived at a time when the enemy were forming themselves amidst the morasses, and had no other resource but their bridges, if they happened to be defeated.

Those three officers pressed general Seckendorff very hard to attack the enemy ; they represented to him the important moment, the advantage of situation, and the ardour of the troops. The count, at first, promised to march, but afterwards changed his opinion. In vain did they insist upon his complying : he answered, that he was better informed than they ; and that he must write to the emperor. Upon which he left them, seized with indignation and surprise.

Thus

Thus the Austrian army, consisting of sixty thousand men, entered Alsace without resistance. In an hour's time prince Charles made himself master of Lauterburg, a post of no great strength, but of the utmost importance. He made general Nadaſti advance as far as Weiſſemburg, an open town, whose garison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. After this he put a body of ten thousand men into the town, and in the lines around it. Marshal Coigni, whose army extended along the Rhine, saw that his communication with France was cut off; that Alsace, the country of Metz, and Lorrain, were going to be a prey to the Austrians and Hungarians: in short, there was no other resource left than to cut his way through the enemy, in order to re-enter Alsace, and to cover the country. Having resolved upon this measure, he instantly set out with the greatest part of his army for Weiſſemburg, just after the enemy had taken possession of it *. He attacked them in the town and in the lines. The Austrians defended themselves with great bravery; they fought in the market-places and in the streets, which were strewed with dead bodies; and the engagement lasted six hours. The Bavarians, who had defended the Rhine so ill, repaired their neglect by their valour: they were encouraged principally by the count de Mortagne, at that time lieutenant-general in the emperor's service, who received ten musket-shot in his clothes; the marquis de Montal headed the French; and, at length, they retook Weiſſemburg and the lines. But they were soon obliged, upon the arrival of
the

• July 15 1744.

the whole Austrian army, to retire towards Hagenau, which they were likewise forced to abandon. Flying parties of the enemy spread terror even to Lorraine; and king Stanislaus was obliged to quit that country with his whole court.

The king having received this news at Dunkirk, did not hesitate a moment concerning the part he had to take. He resolved to interrupt the course of his victories in Flanders; and, leaving marshal Saxe with forty thousand men to preserve his new acquisitions, he flew himself to the assistance of Alsace.

After having made marshal Noailles set out before him, he sent the duke of Harcourt, with some troops, to guard the streights of Phalsburg, and prepared to march himself at the head of twenty six battalions, and three and thirty squadrons. This resolution of his majesty, in his first campaign, revived the drooping spirits of the provinces alarmed by the passage of the Rhine, and still more so by the preceding unlucky campaigns in Germany. The nation's zeal was so much the more excited, as in every thing the king wrote, in his letters ordering *Te Deum* to be sung, in his declarations to foreign persons, in his letters to his family, the desire of peace, and the love of his people, were always his principal topic. This new stile, in an absolute monarch, affected the minds, and, at the same time, roused the spirits of the nation.

The king took his route by St Quintin, la Fere, Laon, Rheims, ordering his troops to march with all expedition, and appointing their

Y

rendezvous

rendezvous at Metz. During this march he increased the soldiers pay and subsistence; an attention which increased the love of his subjects. He arrived at Metz the 5th of August; and the 7th, tidings came of an event which changed the whole face of affairs, obliged prince Charles to repass the Rhine, restored the emperor to his dominions, and reduced the queen of Hungary to a more dangerous situation than any she had yet been in.

One would imagine, that this princess had nothing to fear from the king of Prussia after the peace of Breslaw, and especially after a defensive alliance, concluded the same year as the treaty of Breslaw, betwixt that prince and the king of England. But the queen of Hungary, England, Sardinia, Saxony, and Holland, having united against the emperor by the treaty of Worms; the northern powers, and especially Russia, having been strongly solicited to come into this alliance; the progress of the queen of Hungary's arms increasing daily in Germany; from all these circumstances it was plain, sooner or later, that the king of Prussia had every thing to fear. At length he determined upon renewing his engagements with France; the treaty had been signed secretly the 5th of April; and afterwards a strict alliance was concluded at Francfort †, betwixt the king of France, the emperor, the king of Prussia, the elector Palatine, and the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse Cassel. Thus the secret union of Francfort was a counterpoise to the projects of the union of Worms, and, on both

† May 27. 1744.

both sides, they exhausted every resource of policy and war.

Marshal Schmettau came, on the part of Prussia, to inform the king of France, that his new ally was marching towards Prague with an army of fourscore thousand men; and that two and twenty thousand Prussians were advanced as far as Moravia. At the same time advice was brought of the fresh progress which the Infant Don Philip, and the prince of Conti were making in the Alps. The scaling of these mountains at Montalbon and Villafranca, and the victories obtained among those precipices, had not, as yet, opened a passage on that side; they could not advance, for want of subsistence, through those defiles, and over those rocks, where they were obliged to have the cannon dragged by soldiers, the forage carried on the backs of mules, and to walk, in several places, on the declivity of a mountain, the foot of which was washed by the sea, and where they were exposed to the artillery of the English fleet. Besides, the Genoese had not yet signed their treaty; the negotiations were still depending; so that the thorns of politics retarded the progress of the French arms. They opened themselves, however, a new road on the side of Briançon, towards the valley of Suza, and, at length, they penetrated as far as Chateau Dauphin*.

The bailiff de Givri led nine French battalions, de Poitou, de Conti, de Sales, de Provence, and de Brie, betwixt two mountains. The

* July 19. 1744.

count de Campo Santo † followed him at the head of the Spaniards through another defile, Givri scaled a rock in broad day, on which there were two thousand Piedmontese entrenched. The brave Chevert, who was the first that scaled the ramparts of Prague, was likewise one of the first that mounted this rock; but this was a more sanguinary action by far than that of Prague. The assailants had no artillery, and were exposed to the cannon of the Piedmontese. The king of Sardinia was in person behind the intrenchments, animating his troops. The bailiff de Givri was wounded in the very beginning of the action; and the marquis de Villemur being informed, that a passage of equal importance had been just then luckily found out, sent orders for a retreat. Givri obeys; but both the officers and soldiers were too greatly animated to follow his direction. The lieutenant-colonel de Poitou leaps into the first entrenchments; the grenadiers dart themselves one upon the other; and, what is hardly credible, they pass through the embrasures of the enemy's cannon, at the very instant when the pieces, having fired, were recoiling by their ordinary motion. The French lost near two thousand men, but not one Piedmontese escaped.

The king of Sardinia, in despair, wanted to throw himself into the midst of the assailants; and

† The count de Campo Santo bore this name and title even since the battle of Campo Santo, where he did surprising feats: his name was his reward: as the name of Bitonto was given to the duke of Montemar after the battle of Bitonto. There is no title more glorious than that of having gained a battle.

and it was with difficulty that they withheld him. Civri lost his life; colonel Salis, and the marquis de la Carte were killed; the duke d'Age-
nois, and a great many others, were wounded: but it cost them a great deal less than they might have expected in such a situation. The count de Campo Santo, who could not reach this narrow and steep defile, where this furious engagement was fought, wrote to the marquis de la Mina, general of the Spanish army under Don Philip: "Some opportunities will offer in which
" we shall behave as well as the French; for it is
" impossible to behave better." I commonly transcribe the letters of general officers, when I find they contain any interesting matter; for which reason I shall insert here what the prince of Conti wrote to the king concerning this action.
" It is one of the most glorious and most obstinate
" engagements that ever was fought; the troops
" have shewn such valour as surpasses nature.
" The brigade of Poitou, with Monsieur d'Age-
" nois at their head, have gained immortal
" glory."

" The bravery and presence of mind of M. de Chevert, contributed chiefly to the advantage of the day. I recommend M. de Solemi, and the Chevalier de Modene, to
" your majesty. La Carte is killed. Your majesty, who knows the value of friendship,
" must be sensible how greatly I am affected
" with this loss." Let me be permitted to say, that such expressions from a prince to a king are lessons of virtue to the rest of mankind.

While they were taking Chateau Dauphin,
they

they were obliged to force the place known by the name of the *barricadoes*. This is a pass about three fathoms between two mountains, which rear their heads to the sky. The king of Sardinia had let the river of Stura, which waters the valley, into this precipice; on the other side of the river the post was defended by three entrenchments and a covert-way. The French must then make themselves masters of the castle of Demont, which had been built at an immense expence on the top of a rock, that stood by itself in the middle of the valley of Stura; after which they would become masters of the Alps, and might see the plains of Piedmont. These barricadoes were forced * with great dexterity by the French and Spaniards, the day before the attack of Chateau Dauphin: they took them almost without striking a blow, by putting those who defended them betwixt two fires. It was this extraordinary advantage, called *the day of the barricadoes*, that had induced the marquis de Villemur to order a retreat from before Chateau Dauphin. This general officer, and the count de Lautrec, having executed the enterprize of the barricadoes with more than ordinary success, as it was not attended with the loss of any of the king's troops, wanted to spare the effusion of human blood before Chateau Dauphin; because, after forcing the barricadoes, this fortress must fall of itself. But the bravery of the king's troops transported them farther than there was reason to expect: and in two days time the valley of Stura, defended by the barricadoes, and by Chateau Dauphin, was laid open.

* July 18.

The surmounting of so many obstacles towards Italy, a powerful diversion made in Germany, the king's conquests in Flanders, and his march into Alsace, had removed the public apprehension, when an alarm of another kind threw all France into a consternation.

C H A P. III.

The king's illness. His life is in danger. As soon as he recovers, he marches into Germany. He lays siege to Friburg, while the Austrian army, that had penetrated into Alsace, marches back to the relief of Bohemia: and the prince of Conti gains a battle in Italy.

THE very day they sang *Te Deum* at Metz for the taking of Chateau Dauphin, the king felt some symptoms of a fever; this was the 8th of August. His illness increased, and turned to a malignant disorder; and the 14th, at night, his life was thought to be in danger. He had a very robust constitution, which was hardened by exercise; but the most robust bodies are the oftenest overcome by that distemper. The report of the king being in danger, spread desolation from town to town; the people flocked from every side of the country about Metz; the roads were filled with men of every age and condition, who, by their different relations, increased the common inquietude.

The 14th in the evening the queen received a courier from the duke de Gevres, who informed her

her of the king's great danger. The queen, the dauphin, and his sisters, and all round them, were in tears; the whole palace, the whole town of Versailles, resounded with lamentations. The royal family set out that very night by post without the least preparative. The queen, accustomed to give away her money in acts of generosity, had not enough to defray the expences of her journey: they were therefore obliged to send, in the middle of the night, to the receiver-general of the finances at Paris for a thousand *Livres*. The ladies at court followed the queen without domestics; above twenty thousand inhabitants of Versailles filled the stair-cases, the court-yards, the avenues, and followed the queen's coaches at a distance, some with mournful cries, and others in deep consternation. The news was immediately spread at Paris; the people get out of their beds; they all run about in a hurry, without knowing where they are going; some repair to the ramparts, where, from afar, they might see the royal family pass by; others flock to the churches: no longer do they know either the time of sleep, of walking, or of rest: all Paris is beside itself: the houses of the officers at court are besieged by a continual croud; the people gather in the public squares, and break out into a general cry, "If he dies, it is for having marched to our assistance." And indeed his illness was owing to his exposing himself too much, on his march, to the scorching heat of the sun; for the ray that struck him darted with such violence as to burn his thigh. They represented to themselves what he had done in his first campaign:

paing: their concern was not owing to the misfortunes they might have reason to fear; no, they were too much affected to have any foresight. They were actuated by love alone, which deprived them of their understanding; strangers accosted one another, and asked one another questions in church; the priest, as he was reciting the collect for the king's recovery, interrupted his prayer with his tears; and the people answered him with sobs and lamentations. The poor gave charity to the poor, desiring them to *pray for the king*; and these carried the money they received to the foot of the altar. There were some people in Paris who fainted away, and others who were seized with a fit of illness, upon hearing that the king was in danger. The city-magistrates appointed couriers, who, every three hours, brought them tidings of his condition. The superior courts sent to Metz; each had their couriers, who were coming continually to and fro. As they returned to Paris, they were stopped upon the road and at the gates, by a multitude of people in tears. The physicians, who attended the king, wrote every three hours how the king did, to satisfy the people, who read those certificates of health with impatience and trembling.

The queen arrived at St Dizier, where she found her father Stanislaus, king of Poland, who had left the king's apartment the very moment that they despaired of his life. The general concern was then at the greatest height; they thought the king was dead, and the rumour was spread through all the neighbouring towns. But he

was treated in a very proper manner by his physicians, to whom such disorders are familiar, and who, joining reason with experience, knew extremely well that the whole consists only in letting nature operate freely : that, when this method does not succeed, we must leave our days to him who has counted them, all the rest being only a false art, which imposes on human weakness.

The queen arrived the 17th, when they began to have hopes again of the king's life. The courier, who brought the news of his recovery, was embraced, and almost suffocated by the people ; they kissed his horse ; they led him about in triumph, while all the streets resounded with cries of joy, " The king is recovered." Strangers embraced each other ; they ran to prostrate themselves in the churches ; there was not so much as a company of tradesmen but gave order for *Te Deum* to be sung. The king still kept his bed, and was very weak, when they gave him an account of these surprising transports of joy which had succeeded to such scenes of sorrow. This moved him very much, so as to draw tears from his eyes ; when, deriving strength from his sensibility, he raised himself up in his bed, and said, " Oh, what a pleasure " it is to be thus beloved ! and what have I " done to deserve it ?"

The first days of his convalescence were distinguished by new advantages obtained by his arms in Italy. The prince of Conti, after having forced the barricadoes of the defiles of Stru-
ra, which seemed impenetrable, and after the
taking

taking of Chateau Dauphin, luckily reached the mountain of Demont : here he took every entrenchment, and, at length, reduced twelve hundred men, who defended this last fortress of the Alps, to surrender at discretion.

This news entertained the king, and comforted him in his convalescence. Though he had been at the point of death, yet he never lost sight of the interest of his people. Marshal Noailles, at that time, had the chief command of the army in Alsace, reinforced by the troops from Flanders, which the king's illness hindered him from conducting in person. Before that misfortune, this prince intended to give battle to prince Charles, who had sent his flying parties as far as Lorraine : and, notwithstanding the troops had been retarded in their march, his attention was still taken up with the expectation of an engagement ; so that, when he thought himself in danger of dying, he said to count d'Argenson, who never stirred from his pillow during the whole time of his illness, " Tell marshal Noailles from me, that, while they were carrying Lewis XIII. to the grave, the prince of Conde' obtained a victory." And yet marshal Noailles could only fall * upon the rear of prince Charles's army, which was retreating in good order, and lost only about eighteen hundred men. In this skirmish, which cost France but two hundred men, the chevalier d'Orleans, grand prior of France, and M. de Tremur, were dangerously wounded.

Prince Charles, after having passed the Rhine,

Z 2

in

* August 22. and 23.

in spite of the French forces, repassed it, almost without any loss, within sight of a superior army. The king of Prussia complained most bitterly against their letting an enemy escape, who were coming to wreck their vengeance upon him. Here indeed they missed a lucky opportunity. The king's illness had retarded the march of the troops; besides, they must have passed through a difficult morass to attack prince Charles, who had taken all his precautions, secured his bridges, and contrived every thing that could facilitate his retreat, insomuch that he did not lose a single magazine. Having therefore repassed the Rhine with fifty thousand men complete, he marched towards the Danube and the Elbe with incredible expedition; and, after having penetrated into France as far as the gates of Strasburg, he hastened to deliver Bohemia a second time. The king of Prussia advanced towards Prague, and invested it the 4th of September. But what seems extraordinary is, that general Ogilvi, who defended the town with fifteen thousand men *, ten days after, surrendered himself and his garison prisoners of war. This was the same governor who gave up the town in less time in 1741, when it was stormed by the French.

An army of fifteen thousand Austrians being thus made prisoners of war at the taking of the capital of Bohemia, the remainder of the kingdom being subdued a few days after, Moravia being invaded at the same time, the French army returning to Germany, and other successes

attending

* September 15.

attending their arms in Italy ; in such a situation one would have imagined, that the grand European quarrel was on the point of being decided in favour of the emperor. This prince was preparing to return to Munich, as soon as he could receive intelligence that the road was open, upon prince Charles's repassing the frontiers of Bavaria, in his march to the assistance of Bohemia. The land-grave of Hesse-Cassel, having joined the union of Francfort, had already hired three thousand men to the king of France, and was to furnish him with six thousand more. The elector Palatine was always of that party. The elector of Saxony, who had been in the first alliance against the queen of Hungary, might now renew it; and to this he was strongly solicited by the king of Prussia, who promised him six circles in Bohemia. But as he kept two for himself, those of Konigsgratz and Leutmeritz, by his treaty with France, there was very little left for the emperor : and this was a new partition of the territories of the house of Austria. He offered a principality in the empire to count Bruhl, prime minister of Saxony ; at the same time he promised father Quarini, the queen of Poland's confessor, the emperor's nomination to a cardinal's dignity ; and, among the pleasures of his successes, he reckoned he should enjoy that of seeing a Jesuit introduced into the sacred college by a Protestant prince. The appearances were favourable, when prince Charles was yet in Alsace, and the king of France in full march to attack him with superior forces.

The king's sickness, as we have observed, disconcerted.

concerted this project, which one would have imagined impossible to miss, though indeed its success seemed to be only retarded. Prince Charles's army was likely to diminish very much in his precipitate march towards Bohemia; and scarce had the Austrians quitted Bavaria, when the king gave orders for the siege of Friburg, the bulwark of Anterior Austria, which marshal Coigni invested the 30th of October.

The king's physicians all advised him not to expose himself to the unwholesome air of that province after so dangerous an illness, but to return to Versailles. He did not mind their advice, being determined to finish the campaign. While he was at Strasburg, where his reception was one of the most magnificent solemnities ever seen, the marquis de Bissi arrived from Italy with the news of a victory. The Infant Don Philip, and the prince of Conti, had laid siege to Coni, and the king of Sardinia, with a superior army, attacked them in their lines. Nothing could be better concerted than this prince's enterprise: it was one of those occasions where it is good policy to hazard a battle. If he won the day, the French had few resources, and their retreat would have been attended with difficulty: if he lost it, the town was still able to hold out, in this advanced season, and he had a very safe retreat. The disposition of his army was one of the most judicious ever known; for, having less cavalry by one half than the besiegers, and more infantry by half †, he made his attack in such a manner, that his infantry was to have the whole advantage of the ground, and his cavalry

was

† September 5. 1744.

was not at all to suffer. And yet he was beaten. The French and Spaniards, notwithstanding the national jealousies which used constantly to rise upon the cessation of danger, fought with all the harmony of allies who support each other, and with the emulation of rivals that are desirous of setting a mutual example. The king of Sardinia lost near five thousand men, and the field of battle; the Spaniards lost only nine hundred; the French had twelve hundred killed and wounded. Among the latter were the marquis de Senneterre, the marquis de la Force, who died of his wounds, the chevalier de Chauvelin, and the chevalier de Chabannes. The prince of Conti, who commanded as a general, and fought as a soldier, had his cuirass pierced through with two shot, and two horses killed under him. Of this he made no mention to the king; but he enlarged a good deal on the wounds of M.M. de Senneterre, du la Force, and de Chauvelin; on the signal services of M. de Courten; on those of M.M. de Chayla, de Choiseul, de Beaupreau, and of all those who had behaved gallantly, desiring they should be particularly rewarded. Among the prodigious number of officers, who deserved the commendations of the prince of Conti, he took particular notice in his letters of M.M. de Montmorenci, d'Agenois, de Stainville, of the marquis de Maillebois, quartermaster general, and of M. de Chauvelin, major general of the army. This history would form only a continual list of names, could I recite all the brave actions, which, becoming common
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from their great number, are continually lost in the croud.

This new victory was likewise one of those which are productive of losses, without being attended with any real advantages to the victors. In a little time the rigour of the season, the great quantity of snow, the inundation of the Stura, and of the torrents, were of more service to the king of Sardinia, than the gaining the battle of Coni was to Don Philip and to the prince of Conti. They were obliged to raise the siege, and to repass the mountains, after they had weakened their army. It is generally the fate of those who fight towards the Alps, and have not the master of Piedmont on their side, to lose their armies even by their victories.

C H A P. IV.

The siege of Friburg continued. State of affairs in Germany and Italy.

IN this wet season the king was before Friburg. Of all the sieges he had made, this was the most painful and the most dangerous. The French were obliged to turn the chanel of the river of Treissau, and to open a new bed for it of two thousand six hundred fathom; but no sooner was this work compleated than a dyke broke, and they were obliged to begin again. The besiegers were exposed to the fire of the castle of Friburg, and obliged, at the same time, to drain two arms of the river. The bridges
erected

erected on the new channel were damaged by the waters, but the French repaired them again by night; the next day they marched up to the covert-way, where the ground was all undermined, and they were exposed to an incessant fire from the enemy. Five hundred grenadiers were killed or wounded; and two whole companies perished by the springing of the mines. This attack was commanded by the marquis de Brun, lieutenant-general, with the duke de Randan, and M. de Courtomer, major-generals, and M. de Berville, brigadier. The duke d'Ayen was there as the king's aid-de-camp; and count Lowendahl, who would also be at the siege as a volunteer, was wounded on the head with a musquet shot. This foreigner was a native of Denmark, and had been in the Russian service: it was he that took Ockzakow from the Turks. He spoke almost all the European languages; was perfectly acquainted with the different courts, with their genius, with the character of the people, and their different method of fighting: at length he preferred the service of France, where, from his reputation, he was immediately received as lieutenant-general.

The besiegers were not the least discouraged, but carried the greatest part of the covert-way; and the day following they made themselves intirely masters of it, notwithstanding the bombs, pattereroes, and grenadoes, with which the enemy incessantly annoyed them. There were sixteen engineers at those attacks, who were all wounded: the prince of Soubise had his arm broke by a stone; which, as soon as the king

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heard, he visited him several times, and saw his wounds dressed. This sensibility of their sovereign encouraged the troops; there was not one of them but forgot the extreme hardships of the siege, and generously ventured his life. Their ardour was redoubled when they followed the duke de Chartres, the first prince of the blood, to the trenches and to the attacks. General Damnitz, governor of Friburg, did not hang out the white flag till the 6th of November, after a siege of two months. Count d'Argenson drew up the articles of capitulation, which facilitated the taking of the citadel of Friburg. It was stipulated, as a favour granted from the king to general Damnitz, that he should have leave to retire, with his garison, his sick, and wounded, into the citadel. The governor did not perceive, till after he had signed the capitulation, that this permission would be fatal to him; that the citadel could not hold such a number of men; that they would be crowded upon one another, and more exposed to the enemy's cannon; and, in short, that his sick must infallibly perish: he therefore begged of them not to grant him so dangerous a favour; but the permission then was become an obligation. A suspension of arms was, however, granted for twenty days; at the expiration of which term, the citadel was besieged, and taken in seven days. The king used the same policy at Friburg as at Menin; he demolished the fortifications of the town, neither wanting to keep possession of it, nor to run the hazard of its being retaken some day by the Austrians, and proving a thorn in his

his side. This was one of those towns which Lewis XIV. had taken and fortified, and which he afterwards was obliged to surrender. It is true, that, according to the plan so often defeated, Friburg and the Anterior Austria were to be given to the Bavarian emperor; but it was then foreseen, that he would not keep possession of this country. The king indeed was master of all Brisgaw: the prince of Clermont, on his side, was advanced as far as Constance: and the emperor, at length, had the pleasure of returning to Munich. In Italy affairs had taken a favourable turn, though they advanced but slowly. The prince of Conti demolished the fortifications of Demont, after he had taken it by storm. The king of Naples was pursuing prince Lobkowitz through the pope's territories. In Bohemia great matters were expected from the diversion made by the king of Prussia; but they were disappointed; fortune changed sides again, as she had often done during this war; and prince Charles drove the Prussians out of Bohemia, as he had made the French fly before him in 1742 and 1743. The Prussians committed the very same mistakes, and made the same kind of retreats, as they had reproached the French armies with. They successively evacuated the different posts which led to Prague; and, at length, they were obliged to evacuate Prague itself †.

Prince Charles, after having passed the Rhine within sight of the French army, passed the Elbe the same year within sight of the king of Prussia. He followed him even into Silesia, and his flying parties advanced as far as the gates of Bres-

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† Nov. 19. 1744.

law. At length it became a moot point, whether the queen, who seemed to be undone in the month of June, would not recover Silesia in the month of December the same year; and people were afraid that the emperor, who was but just returned to his desolate capital, should be once more obliged to leave it.

CHAP. V.

The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, declares in favour of Mary Tereza, against whom he had joined in the beginning of the war. Affairs are more perplexed than ever in Italy. The king of Naples surprised at Velletri, in the neighbourhood of Rome.

THESE hopes the Austrians derived from a new change in their affairs, which indeed was not one of the least revolutions in the whole war, namely, the step then taken by the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. This same prince, who, in the beginning, had joined the king of Prussia against the queen of Hungary, was then entering into an alliance with this princess against Prussia, and had already furnished her with about twenty thousand men. In pursuing this measure, he did not intend to declare war against king Frederick, but only to assist the queen; just as the States-General had joined with her against France, without declaring war. It did not appear that the elector of Saxony could have any great interest

in making the queen of Hungary, and the new house of Austria, more powerful; nay, it seemed strange, that he should chuse rather to aggrandize that house, than to raise himself upon its ruins: but a particular pique betwixt him and king Frederick, the powerful negotiations of England, the apprehension of the rising grandeur of the house of Brandenburg, and the expectation of humbling it, produced a total alteration of maxims in the court of Dresden.

Scarce had the king of Prussia concluded his treaty in April 1744 with France and the emperor, when the king of Poland signed his agreement, privately, with the queen of Hungary, in the month of May. He promised to assist her with thirty thousand men; and the queen yielded to him a part of Silesia which she hoped to be able to recover, and to which that prince had trumped up some ancient rights, as all the German princes have some pretensions or other to the territories of their neighbours. England paid him a subsidy of L. 150,000. Sterling every year, so long as he continued to defend the queen of Hungary. If it was a matter of surprise, that a king of Poland and elector of Saxony should be reduced to accept of this money; it was a much greater surprise, that England should be able to give it, when she had granted this very year L. 500,000. to the queen of Hungary, L. 200,000. to the king of Sardinia; and, at the same time, she paid a subsidy of L. 22,000. to the elector of Cologne, for permitting the enemies of the emperor his brother to raise troops against him in
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the territories of Cologne, Munster, and Osna-bruck. To such a low pitch was this unfortunate emperor reduced ! The borders of the Rhine had been all frightened at the passage of prince Charles ; and the English gold did the rest. At this conjuncture the Austrians, assisted by their new allies, the Saxons, threatened Silesia : they likewise threatened French Flanders with English and Dutch succours.

The allied army in Flanders exceeded that which the king left under the command of marshal Saxe, by twenty thousand men. This general employed all those resources of war which are intirely independent of fortune, and even of the bravery of troops. To incamp and decamp at proper opportunities, to cover one's own country, to maintain an army at the enemy's expence, to remove upon their ground when they advance into yours, and thereby to oblige them to march back ; in short, to baffle superior strength by skill ; this is what is looked upon as one of the masterpieces of the military art, and what marshal Saxe did from the beginning of August to the month of November.

The quarrel about the Austrian succession was every day growing more obstinate, the emperor's fate more uncertain, the respective interests more complicate, while the successes of each party were generally counterpoised by those of the opposite side.

France had on her side in Germany, the emperor, the king of Prussia, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the elector Palatine, by the
treaty

treaty of Francfort. But the Prussians were then busy in defending themselves. Hesse was always ready to sell troops to England, as well as to France. The Palatinate was a country that rather wanted protection than was capable of giving assistance; and, besides, a great part of its territories had been pillaged by the enemy. Thus Austria was still the predominant power in Germany, especially having the succours of Saxony and of the Dutch, with the troops and subsidies of Great Britain. The rest of the empire still neuter, though a great part were well affected to the house of Austria, in all their memorials complained of this civil war which laid waste their country.

The truth is, that the calamities which follow war had ruined a great many: yet, on the other hand, it is no less true, that this war really enriched Germany, while it seemed, in appearance, to ruin it. The French and English money, which was scattered among them with such profusion, remained in the hands of the Germans. Francfort especially, so long the residence of the imperial court, of such a number of ministers, princes, and generals, had made immense profits. Dresden, which had furnished provisions a long time to the French and Austrian armies, in their turn, had thereby enriched itself. And, upon the whole, this war had rendered Germany more opulent, and consequently more powerful, sooner or later, render it more powerful. It was not so in regard to Italy, which, moreover cannot form, for any considerable time, a powerful body like Germany. France had not sent to the Alps

Alps more than forty two battalions, and thirty three squadrons ; which, considering the ordinary deficiency in the troops, did not compose above a body of twenty six thousand men. The Infant's army was very near this number at the beginning of the campaign ; and both of them, far from enriching a foreign country, drew their whole subsistence from the provinces of France. With regard to the pope's territories, on which prince Lobkowitz was then incamped with thirty thousand men, they were rather ravaged than made rich. This part of Italy was going to become a bloody scene in this vast military theatre, which extended from the Danube to the Tiber.

The queen of Hungary's armies were very near making a conquest of the kingdom of Naples towards the months of March, April, and May 1744 ; and had it not been for the prudent conduct of count Gages, they would certainly have done it. This general, finding that his Spanish army was weakened, and he could have no recruits from Spain, incorporated Neapolitans into his old regiments, and these new troops grew inured to discipline : at length, by temporising, he obliged prince Lobkowitz, who perceived his army also wasting away, to retire from Abruzzo towards Rome.

This city had beheld, since the month of July, an engagement in her neighbourhood, betwixt the Austrian and Neapolitan armies. The king of Naples, and the duke of Modena, were at Velletri, antiently the capital of the Volsci, and now the residence of the dean of the sacred college. The king of the two Sicilies was lodged in
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the palace of Ginetti, which is reckoned a structure of magnificence and taste. Prince Lobkowitz made the same attempt upon Velletri, as prince Eugene had done upon Cremona in 1702; for history is no more than a series of events repeated with some variety. Six thousand Austrians entered Velletri in the middle of the night †: the main guard were slain: those who resisted were cut in pieces: and those who made no resistance, were made prisoners: in short, terror and alarm were spread all around. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were very near being taken. The marquis de l'Hospital, ambassador from France to the court of Naples, awakes at the noise, runs to the king, and saves him. No sooner had the marquis quitted his house, than it was plundered by the enemy. The king, followed by the duke of Modena and the ambassador, puts himself at the head of his troops without the town; the Austrians break into the houses; general Novati enters the palace of the duke of Modena, where he finds M. Sabatini, that prince's minister, who had been formerly in the same regiment with himself. "Is it not true," said this minister to him, "that you grant me my life, and you will content yourself with making me your prisoner?" While they were renewing their former acquaintance, the very same thing happened as at Cremona. The Walloon guards, a regiment of Irish, and another of Swiss, repulsed the Austrians, strewed the streets with dead bodies, and retook the town. M. Sabatini, seeing this

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† August 10. 1744.

revolution from his window, said to the Austrian general, "It is I now that grant you your life, " and it is you that are my prisoner." A few days after, prince Lobkowitz was obliged to retreat towards Rome, whither he was pursued by the king of Naples. The former marched towards one gate of the city, and the latter towards the other; they both passed the Tiber within sight of the people of Rome, who, from the ramparts, enjoyed the spectacle of the two armies. The king was received at Rome under the name of the count of Puzzuolo: his guards stood with their drawn swords in the streets, while their master was kissing the pope's toe; the two armies continued the war in the territory of Rome, whose inhabitants thanked heaven, that the ravage extended no farther than their fields.

Upon the whole, we find that Italy was, from the beginning, the chief aim of the court of Spain; that Germany was the main object of the conduct of the court of France; and that, on both sides, the success was still extremely dubious.

CH A P. VI.

Death of the emperor Charles VII. The war becomes more violent than ever.

IMmediately after the taking of Friburg, the king returned to Paris, where he was received as the avenger of his country, and as a father

ther whom they had been afraid of losing. He remained three days in his capital, to shew himself to the inhabitants, who wanted no other return for their zeal, than the pleasure of beholding him; and this was what he could not, in gratitude, refuse. He dined in the Hotel de Ville, whose square was adorned with those magnificent decorations which make us wish for more durable monuments. He was served at table, according to custom, by the provost of the merchants, and the dauphin by the first echevin.

On this occasion it was observed, that the inscriptions of the Hotel de Ville, the triumphal arches, and illuminated figures, with which the town was adorned, were in Latin: though, indeed, these interpreters of the people's joy ought to be such as they can understand. They pique themselves in Germany, in England, and in the North, for making inscriptions and devices in French; which should be a hint to our nation to shew the same honour to our language as is paid it by foreigners.

The king, at his return from the campaign, had no minister of foreign affairs, having been his own minister at the army. To fill this place, he chose, successively, two men who had no thoughts of it. The first was M. de Villeneuve, who, during his embassy to the Ottoman Porte, had negotiated a peace between the Turk and the last emperor of the house of Austria. This gentleman was old and infirm: he had been always reckoned a wise man; a character which he still maintained by his sensibility of his pre-

sent condition : having no ambition to deceive himself, or to imagine he had strength above his age, he refused the employment. The second was the marquis d'Argenson, the elder brother of the secretary at war : by this favour the king surprised the two brothers.

The only inducement the king had in giving away a place which, according to the maxims of common policy in most courts of Europe, seems to require less virtue than cunning, was the character the marquis had of being an honest man. These two ministers were descended from one of the most antient houses of Tourraine, in which the dignities of the long robe have, for some years, been joined to the antient honours of the sword. Their father, who had been keeper of the seals, and minister of the finances, was a genius equal either for the command of an army, or for the policying a state ; a man of piercing wit, intrepid, and indefatigable ; able to unravel the most knotty affairs ; a declared enemy to trivial forms, which little minds are so fond of : in short, a man superior to party, fear, or interest. At the time the government wanted money, he sent back a hundred thousand crowns to the royal treasury, which were his right as minister of the finances ; and when he acted thus, he was not rich, and had a numerous family. This action, which the king knew of, contributed greatly to the promotion of his sons.

One of the first affairs that came before the minister of state, was an adventure, in which there was rather a violation of the law of nations,

ons, of the privileges of ambassadors, and of the constitutions of the empire, than any exercise of the right of war.

The king, still true to his engagements with the emperor, had sent marshal Belleisle, with full powers from himself, and from the emperor, to Munich, and from thence to Cassel, and Silesia. He was coming from Munich, the imperial residence, with the chevalier his brother; they had been at Cassel, and were continuing their journey, without any distrust, through a country where the king of Prussia has several post-houses, which, by agreement among the princes of Germany, have been always looked upon as neuter and inviolable. While the marshal and his brother were changing horses at one of those post-houses, in a borough called Elbingrode, belonging to the elector of Hanover, they were arrested and ill used by an Hanoverian bailiff, and soon after removed to England. The duke of Belleisle was a prince of the empire, and, in this quality, this arrest might have been considered as a violation of the privileges of the college of princes. In former times emperors would have punished such an indignity; but any insult might have been offered to Charles VII. all he could do was to complain.

The French ministers laid claim, at the same time, to the privileges of ambassadors, and to every right of war. If marshal Belleisle was considered as a prince of the empire, and as a minister of the court of France, going to the imperial and Prussian courts, as those two courts were not at war with Hanover, certainly his person was

was sacred. If, on the other hand, he was looked upon as a general and as a marshal of France, the king offered to ransom him and his brother. Pursuant to the cartel settled at Francfort the 18th of June 1743, between France and England, the ransom of a marshal of France was rated at 50,000 livres. The minister of king George II. eluded these pressing arguments by a quirk, which was a new affront: he declared, that he looked upon M. M. de Belleisle as prisoners of state. They were treated with the greatest regard, according to the maxim of most of the European courts, who soften the iniquity of politics, and the cruelty of war, by external appearances of humanity.

The emperor Charles VII. neglected and disregarded in the empire, having no other support but the king of Prussia, pursued by prince Charles, and apprehensive lest the queen of Hungary should again compel him to quit his capital, seeing himself the continual sport of fortune, and oppressed by maladies which his chagrines had increased, sunk, at length, under the weight. He died at Munich at the age of forty seven years and a half, leaving this lesson to the world, that the highest degree of human grandeur may lead to the utmost pitch of infelicity. He had been unhappy only since his elevation to the imperial throne; and nature, from that time, was even more unkind to him than fortune. A complication of acute disorders filled his days with bitterness, and carried him to the grave. He had the gout and the stone: upon opening his body, they found his lungs, his liver, and his stomach mortified, with stones

in his kidneys, and a polypus in his heart. It was concluded that, for some time, he must have lived in continual pain.

The body of this unfortunate prince was laid in state, dressed after the old Spanish mode, according to the regulation of Charles V. though there has been never a Spanish emperor since that prince, and Charles VII. had no manner of relation to that nation. He was buried according to the imperial ceremonies: and with all that parade of vanity and human misery, they carried the globe of the world before him, who, during his short reign, was not even possessed of a small unhappy province. They gave him the title of *invincible* in the rescripts published by the young elector his son; a title by custom annexed to the imperial dignity, and which only served to render the public more sensible of the misfortunes of him that possessed it.

His brother, the elector of Cologne, would never defend his cause: not but that this elector, who was bishop and prince of Munster, Paderborn, and Osnabruck, might raise an army; but to have a good one great preparatives were requisite: he ought to have laid up money, to have officers regularly trained, and soldiers disciplined; all this he wanted. He had always foreseen that Austria would resume the superiority, which indeed was the reason of his neutrality during this whole war. This occasioned great complaints against him; but the event justified the conduct he was obliged to observe.

It was then believed, that, as the cause of the war no longer subsisted, peace would be restored

to Europe. They could not offer the empire to the son of Charles VII. who was then only seventeen years of age. They flattered themselves in Germany that the queen of Hungary would seek for peace, as the sure means of placing her husband, the grand duke, at length, upon the imperial throne : but she would have this throne, and also continue the war. The English ministry, who gave the law to their allies, because they gave them money, supplying, at the same time, the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the king of Sardinia, thought they should be losers by a treaty, and gainers by protracting the war : they had no difficulty to inspire Mary Teresa with the same confidence, so as to flatter herself that she should be able to beat both France and Prussia. The passage of the Rhine and of the Elbe, in one campaign, had doubled her courage. The king of France, on the other hand, would not abandon either his son-in-law, the Infant Don Philip in Italy, the young elector of Bavaria in Germany, or the king of Prussia, who was returned to his old alliance.

This general war continued, because it was begun. The object of it was now no longer the same as in the beginning ; it was one of those maladies whose symptoms alter when they grow inveterate. Flanders had been respected as a neutral country before the year 1744, but was now become the principal theatre of war ; and Germany was considered by France rather as a field of politics than of military operations. The court of France cast an eye upon the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a proper person
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for the imperial crown. He was not only qualifi^d to aspire to this dignity, but he might likewise render it subservient to the enriching his family with a part of the Austrian inheritance, which he had at first attempted to acquire by the sword. At least, by detaching him from his new alliance with Austria, there was a probability of giving a greater superiority to the king of Prussia, and of compelling the queen of Hungary to accept of terms of peace. But the Saxon minister chose rather to see his master an ally than an enemy of the court of Vienna: the king of Poland might have had the imperial crown, but he would not accept of it.

This refusal of the elector of Saxony, which appeared so astonishing to Europe, did not at all surprise those who were acquainted with his court, and with the state of his affairs. They persuaded him, that he would find it very difficult to keep the crown of Poland, if he accepted of the empire, and that the republic of Poland would be afraid of having too powerful a chief. They represented to him, that he would run the risque of losing a throne which he might secure to his posterity; and that, after all, he was not sure of carrying his point in competition with the Great duke of Tuscany. The example of the elector of Bavaria had convinced him, how difficult it is for a prince, who is not of himself very powerful, to bear the weight of the imperial crown; and that a grandeur not founded on its own strength, is, oftentimes, rather a humiliation. In short, this prince, whether he was not strong enough, or whether he was re-

strained by the treaties of Vienna, Dresden, and Warsaw, which had connected him with the queen of Hungary and with England; instead of pretending to the empire, entered into a more intimate union with the queen, in order to place the imperial crown on her husband's head, and to give every thing to those, to whom, at first, he would have granted nothing.

France had therefore no other resource left than that of arms, and patiently to expect her fate, together with the decision of so many different interests, which had so often changed, and in all their mutations had kept Europe in continual alarm.

Maximilian Joseph, the young elector of Bavaria, was the third, from father to son, whose rights had been maintained by France. This crown restored his grandfather to his dominions, obtained the imperial crown for his father, now made a fresh effort to support this young prince. Six thousand Hessians in French pay, three thousand Palatines, and thirteen battalions of German troops, which had been a long time in the French service, had joined the Bavarian forces, which were still maintained by the king. To render these succours effectual, the Bavarians ought to have done their best to defend themselves; but it was their fate to be always beaten by the Austrians. They defended the entrance of their country so very ill, that, in the beginning of April, the elector of Bavaria was obliged to quit that same capital from which his father had been so often expelled.

This country had been ravaged to such a degree,

gree; that it was not able to find forage for the French troops who were coming to the elector's assistance. The Hessians were mercenaries, who would accept of French money, but did not care to fight. The 10th of April general Braut declared to count Segur, commander in chief of the French troops in Bavaria, that he would not go to meet the enemy, and that all he could do was to wait for them. M. de Segur found himself deserted by the very people he was come to assist; and he could not rely on the Hessians, who had shewn such backwardness.

To complete the disgrace of the French, count Seckendorff, who still commanded the Bavarian army, corresponded with Austria, and was negotiating a secret accommodation, whereby he surrendered the house of Bavaria to the discretion of the queen of Hungary, and defeated every thing that had been done by France. One of the motives of this general's discontent was, that the French had not latterly given him twenty four thousand German florins, which he still demanded, notwithstanding the immense sums the king had remitted him for the payment of the Bavarian troops. He had even taken the emperor Charles VII.'s plate in pawn at the time that he commanded his army; and, after he returned it to the electoral family, he complained they did not pay him the remainder of a sum of money which was still due. Every body knows, that this man, after having been long in the service of the house of Austria, was confined by the last emperor of that family; and that, upon the death of that prince, he quitted

the queen of Hungary for the house of Bavaria : Now, human nature is so constituted, that those who often change masters, are seldom heartily attached to any party. The 24th of March he wrote to marshal Thoring, a Bavarian general, these very words : “ The happy success with which they flatter themselves upon the Rhine, will not save Bavaria ; this country must be doomed to utter destruction, if means be not found out of saving it by some kind of accommodation, be it what it will.”

The count de Segur, and M de Chavigni, the king's plenipotentiaries in Bavaria, were but too well informed of his secret designs ; they plainly perceived, from the motions of the Bavarian army, that the king's troops were to be left exposed in a country where the very inhabitants, whom they had defended during the space of four years, were become their enemies.

Things being thus unhappily situated, count Segur, who had only six thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, French and Palatines, was attacked by an army of twenty thousand Austrians †, within a few leagues of Donawert, near a little town called Pfaffenhoven. His business then was, to save the king's troops and the military chest. For this end he posted his men so well, covering them with a wood, and gaining an eminence, that they maintained a most unequal and most obstinate fight, without being thrown into disorder. The French alone lost about two thousand men, killed and wounded ; the Palatines, less exposed, had very few killed ; but one

† April 15. 1745.

of their battalions were made prisoners of war. The marquis de Rupelmonde, major-general of the French forces, kept the enemy in play a long time in the rear, but was killed, at length, with a musket-ball, on the field of battle: he had only his aid-de-camp near him when he received the wound. "Let me die," said he: "run and tell M. de Segur that he take care of the rear."

We cannot too much lament the death of this young man, who, besides every military talent, was possessed of a philosophic turn of mind, and of other agreeable qualities, which rendered his company infinitely valuable to his friends. He was the only heir of a family long distinguished in Flanders; the hope and consolation of a mother, who, for many years, had been the darling of the court of France, and who now only lived for this son, on whom she doted. The marquis de Crussol, who was intrusted with the command of the rear, and the chevalier de la Marck, behaved with such prudence and intrepidity, that they merited the commendations of the enemy, and were rewarded by the prince. This little army retired to Donawert in good order, without being ever broke; and killed a great many more of the enemy than they themselves had lost.

All this while the young elector of Bavaria was at Augsburg. Had his council agreed to have joined his troops to those which were only fighting his battles, he might still have kept the balance even. The king was defending his cause on all sides. Marshal Maillebois, at the head of a hundred and one battalions, and sixty two squadrons,

squadrons, with ten independent companies, was driving an Austrian army, commanded by the duke of Aremberg, beyond the river Lhon, and even menaced the electorate of Hanover: the king of Prussia kept prince Charles employed. In short, the king of France himself was upon the point of making a most powerful diversion in Flanders. But all these considerations were superseded by count Seckendorff's party: they prevailed on the young elector to sign preliminaries †, by which he made himself dependent on Austria; while the queen of Hungary was left in possession of his strongest towns, Ingolstadt, Scharding, and Braunaw, till the conclusion of a definitive treaty: he likewise promised his vote, at the first diet of election, to the grand duke, and thereby placed over his own head the very person whom the present conjuncture had rendered the most dangerous enemy of the house of Bavaria. The six thousand Hessians who were in this army declared themselves neuter; but, notwithstanding their neutrality, they were disarmed at Augsburg, after which they passed from French into English pay. The Palatines were soon obliged to embrace a neutrality. This revolution, so lucky to the queen of Hungary, did this service at least to France, that it saved her the men and the treasure of which she had been so lavish in favour of the house of Bavaria, and freed her from the burden of mercenary troops, which generally cost a great deal more than their service is worth. The young elector's council might excuse this treaty by the experience

† April 22. 1745.

experience of past, and the apprehension of future misfortunes; but how could they justify a secret article, by which the elector engaged to lend troops to the queen of Hungary, and, like the rest, to receive English pay? Little did the king of France expect, when he put the elector Charles Albert on the imperial throne, that, in two years time, the Bavarians would serve among his enemy's troops.

While the king lost one ally, who was only a burden to him, he still preserved another, who was of infinite use. The king of Prussia was the terror of the Austrians; prince Charles could hardly face him in the field.

The resolution taken by Lewis XV. was, to act upon the defensive in Germany, and upon the offensive in Flanders and Italy: and thereby he answered every purpose. His army upon the Rhine employed the Austrians, and prevented them from falling upon his ally the king of Prussia, with too great a superiority of forces. He had already sent marshal Maillebois from Germany into Italy; and the prince of Conti was intrusted with the management of the war upon the Rhine, a war of quite a different nature from that which he had conducted in the Alps.

The king undertook himself, in person, to finish the conquests which he had interrupted the preceding year. He had just married the dauphin to the second Infanta of Spain, in the month of February †; and this young prince, who had not yet compleated his sixteenth year, prepared

† 1745.

prepared to set out the beginning of May along with his father.

Before the king's departure, marshal Saxe went to take upon him the command of the army in Flanders, which was to consist of a hundred and six battalions, and a hundred and seventy two squadrons complete, with seventeen independent companies.

C H A P. VII.

Siege of Tournay. Battle of Fontenoy.

MARSHAL Saxe having made several marches, which kept the enemy in suspense, and seemed sometimes to threaten Aeth, and sometimes Mons, all of a sudden sat down before Tournay, and invested it the 25th of April; while the allied army of English, Austrians, Hanoverians, and Dutch, were not able to prevent his operations. Tournay was the strongest place of the whole barrier: the town and citadel were one of Vauban's master-pieces; for there was not a place of any strength in Flanders, whose fortifications had not been built by Lewis XIV.

The people of Tournay were fond of the French government, not so much because their town is part of the ancient patrimony of the kings of France, as out of regard to their own advantage; they preferred the French magnificence, which enriches a country, to the Dutch œconomy, which keeps it low. But the inclination

nation of the inhabitants is seldom minded in fortified towns: they are no way concerned either in the attack or in the defence of those places; they are transferred from one sovereign to another by capitulations, which are made for them without asking their advice.

In the beginning of the siege of Tournay, happened one of those events, where the inevitable fatality which determines life and death, appeared, as it were, in the most conspicuous characters. The count de Talleyrand, colonel of the regiment of Normandy, had mounted the trenches under the orders of the duke de Biron; here a cavalier * was erected, near which they had placed a cask of gun-powder. In the night the duke de Biron lay himself down upon a bear-skin near M. de Talleyrand, when he recollected, that he had promised to spend part of the night with M. de Meuze. He resolves to go, notwithstanding that M. de Talleyrand does all he can to dissuade him. No sooner was he gone, than a soldier, trying the prime of his fusil, lets a spark fall upon the cask of gun-powder: instantly the cavalier flies up into the air, and M. de Talleyrand is blown up with twenty four soldiers, whose limbs, quite torn and shattered, are dispersed on every side: part of the body of M. de Talleyrand was thrown to the distance of above thirty fathom. But an accident of this kind, though never so fatal, is confounded, in time of war, in the multitude of human calamities, which, from our being too much surrounded by them, escape our attention. The

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garison

* A kind of high platform to plant great guns upon.

garison of Tournay, beholding this unlucky accident, insulted the French, reviling them with the most injurious language. Upon which a few companies of grenadiers, unable to contain their indignation, answered them not by opprobrious speeches, but by leaping out of the trenches, and running upon the glacis of the covert-way, though the regular approaches for attacking it were not yet finished: they descended without order, without preparation, or even without officers, upon the covert-way, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy's artillery and their small shot, and maintain themselves boldly till the round came by, though exposed on every side. The duke de Biron, who commanded the trenches, hearing of this action, which the nature of the provocation, and the ardour of the troops rendered, in some measure, excusable, immediately orders gabions to be brought, makes epaulements, and lodges those brave fellows on the covert-way, which they had so resolutely carried.

As soon as the States-General were informed that Tournay was in danger, they sent word to the commander of their troops, that he must venture a battle to relieve the town. Notwithstanding the circumspection of these republicans they were the first of the allies, at that time who took vigorous resolutions.

The 5th of May the enemy advanced to Cambrai, within seven leagues of Tournay. The king set out the 6th from Paris, with the dauphin; the king was attended by his aid-de-camp and the dauphin by his minions.

The inhabitants of Paris, who had been so near losing their king the foregoing year, felt a return of their pain, upon seeing both the father and the son set out for Flanders, to expose themselves to the uncertain issue of a battle. The French had made no entrenchments as yet before Tournay, in the lines of circumvallation; they had no army of observation; nor were the twenty battalions and forty squadrons, which had been draughted from the army commanded by the prince of Conti, as yet arrived.

But, notwithstanding the uneasiness they were under at Paris, it must be allowed, that the king's army was considerably superior to that of the allies. In several printed relations it is said to have been weaker. Historical exactness obliges me to acknowledge, that it was stronger by sixty battalions, and eighty two squadrons. For the French had a hundred and six battalions, reckoning the militia, and a hundred and seventy two squadrons; whereas, the allies had only forty six battalions and ninety squadrons.

True it is, that, the day of the engagement, the French did not avail themselves intirely of this advantage. Part of the troops were not yet arrived, there was also a necessity for leaving some to guard the trenches of Tournay, and for the bridges of communication: but still the superiority of numbers was certainly on the side of France. And it is not less true, that this advantage was not of any consequence in so confined a ground as that of the field of battle; besides, it happens very seldom, that victory is owing to numbers. The chief strength of the enemy's

my's army consisted in twenty battalions, and twenty six squadrons of English, under the young duke of Cumberland, who, in company with the king his father, had gained the battle of Dettingen. The English were joined by five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverian troops. The prince of Waldeck, of the same age very near as the duke of Cumberland, like him full of ardour, and impatient to signalize himself, was at the head of the Dutch forces, consisting of forty squadrons and twenty six battalions. In this army the Austrians had only eight squadrons. The allies were fighting their cause in Flanders, a country that has been long defended by the arms and treasure of England and Holland. But at the head of this small number of Austrians was old general Konigseg, who had commanded against the Turks in Hungary, and against the French in Italy and in Germany: it was intended, that his years and experience should be a check to the youthful ardour of the duke of Cumberland, and of prince Waldeck. The whole allied army was upwards of fifty thousand combatants.

The king left about eighteen thousand men before Tournay, who were posted at gradual distances from the field of battle; besides six thousand to guard the bridges on the Scheld, and the communications. The army was commanded by a general in whom they had the greatest confidence. Count Saxe had made the art of war his constant study, even in time of peace; besides a profound theory, he had great practical knowledge; in short, vigilance, secrecy, the

art of knowing properly when to postpone, and when to execute a project; to see things at one glance; presence of mind and foresight, were abilities allowed him by the consent of all military people. But, at that time, this general was wasting away with a lingering disorder, and almost at death's door when he left Paris. The author of these memoirs happening to meet him before he set out for Flanders, could not forbear asking him how he could think of taking the field in that feeble condition? The marshal answered, "It is not time now to think of living, but of departing."

The 6th of May the king arrived at Doway. Just as he was going to bed, he received a courier from the marshal, who informed him, that the enemy's army was approaching, and that they should be quickly in sight of each other, "Gentlemen," said the king to his aid-de-camps and to his officers, "there shall be no time lost; I set out to-morrow morning at five o' clock; but do not disturb the dauphin."

The next day the king arrived at Point-a-Chin, near the Scheld, within reach of the trenches of Tournay. The dauphin, who had been apprised, was there in time; and attended the king, when he went to reconnoitre the ground designed for the field of battle. The whole army, upon seeing the king and the dauphin, made the air resound with acclamations of joy. The enemy spent the 10th, and the night of the 11th, in making their last dispositions. Never did the king express greater cheerfulness than the evening

ing before the engagement. The conversation turned upon the battles at which the kings of France had been present. The king said, that, since the battle of Poitiers, never a king of France had his son with him in an engagement; that none of them had ever gained a signal victory over the English; and he hoped to be the first.

The day the battle was fought he waked the first: at four o' clock he himself awakened count d'Argenson, secretary at war, who, that very instant, sent to marshal Saxe to know his last orders. They found the marshal in a wicker vehicle, which served him as a bed; he was carried about in it, when his strength came to be so exhausted, as he could no longer ride on horseback. The king and the dauphin had already passed the bridge of Calonne. The marshal told the officer sent by count d'Argenson, that the king's guards must come forward, for he had fixed their post in the reserve, with the carabineers, as a sure resource. This was a new method of posting troops whom the enemy consider as the flower of an army. But he added, that the guards should not be ordered to advance till the king and the dauphin had repassed the bridge. The marshal, as a foreigner, was very sensible how much less it became him than any other general, to expose two such precious lives to the uncertain issue of a battle. The officer, to whom he had made these answers, was loth to repeat them to the king: but this prince, apprised of the marshal's directions, said, "Let my guards advance this very moment; for I

" will

"will not repass the bridge." Soon after, he went and took post beyond the place called, *The justice of our lady in the wood*. For his guard, he would have only a squadron of a hundred and twenty men of the company of Charot, one gendarm, a light-horse-man, and a musketeer. Marthal Noailles kept near his majesty, as did also count d'Argenson. The aid-de-camps were the same as the preceding year. The duke de Villeroy was also about his person; as captain of the guards; and the dauphin had his minions near him.

The king and the dauphin's retinue, which composed a numerous troop, were followed by a multitude of persons of all ranks, whom curiosity had brought to this place, some of whom were mounted even on the tops of trees, to behold the spectacle of a bloody engagement.

The assistance of engraving is absolutely necessary to a person that has a mind to form to himself a clear and distinct image of this action. The antients, who were strangers to this art, could leave us but imperfect notions of the situation and motion of their armies: but, to have an adequate knowledge of such a day, researches, still more difficult, are necessary. No one officer can see every thing: a great many behold with eyes of prepossession; and there are some that are very short-sighted. There is a good deal in having consulted the papers of the war-office; and especially in getting instruction from the generals and the aid-de-camps: but it is requisite, moreover, to speak to the commanding officers of the different corps; and to compare their relations,

lations, in order to mention only those facts in which they agree.

All these precautions have I taken for the obtaining a thorough information of the detail of a battle, of which even the least particulars must be interesting to the whole nation. Casting an eye upon the plan, you perceive, at one glance, the disposition of the two armies. You see Antoin pretty near the Scheld, within nine hundred fathom of the bridge of Calonne, the way that the king and the dauphin came. The village of Fontenoy is within eight hundred fathom of Antoin; from thence, drawing towards the north, is a piece of ground four hundred and fifty fathom broad, betwixt the woods of Barry and of Fontenoy. In this plan you see the dispositions of the brigades, the generals that commanded them; with what art they prepared against the efforts of the enemy near the Scheld and Antoin, betwixt Antoin and Fontenoy, in those villages lined with troops and artillery, on the ground which separates Fontenoy from the woods of Barry; and, finally, on the left, towards Ramecroix, where the enemy might advance by fetching the compass of the woods.

The general had made provisions for a victory, and against a defeat. The bridge of Calonne, lined with cannon, strengthened with intrenchments, and defended by a battalion of guards, another of Swiss, and three of militia, was to facilitate the retreat of the king and of the dauphin, in case of any unlucky accident. The remainder of the army was to have filed off, at the same time, over the other bridges on the
lower

lower Scheld, in the neighbourhood of Tournay.

Notwithstanding all these measures, so well concerted as to support each other without the least clashing, there happened one mistake, which, had it not been rectified, might have occasioned the loss of the day. The evening preceding the battle, the general was told, that there was a hollow way, deep and impracticable, which extended, without discontinuance, from Antoin to Fontenoy, and would secure the army on that side. Weak as he was, he reconnoitered a part of this hollow way himself; and they assured him that the remainder was still more inaccessible. He made his dispositions accordingly. But this ground, which was very deep near Fontenoy and Antoin, was quite level betwixt these two villages. This circumstance, so trivial in other cases, was here of the utmost consequence; for the army might have been taken in flank. The marshal having been better informed by the quartermaster M. de Cremille, caused three redoubts to be hastily erected in this same spot betwixt the villages. Marshal Noailles directed the works in the night, and joined Fontenoy to the first redoubt by an earthen redan. The three redoubts were furnished with three batteries of cannon, one of eight pieces, the other two of four. They were called *the redoubts of Bettens*, from being defended by the Swiss regiment of Bettens, with that of Diesbach. Beside these precautions, they had likewise planted six sixteen pounders on this side the Scheld, to

gall the troops that should attack the village of Antoin.

We must particularly observe, that there was a piece of ground, of about four hundred and fifty fathom, which had a gentle ascent betwixt the woods of Barry and Fontenoy. As the enemy might penetrate this way, the general took care to erect, at the verge of the woods of Barry, a strong redoubt, where the guns were fixed in embrasures. Here the marquis de Chambona commanded a battalion of the regiment of Eu. The cannon of this redoubt, with those which were planted to the left side of Fontenoy, formed a cross-fire, sufficient, one would imagine, to stop the efforts of the most intrepid enemy.

If the English should have attempted to pass through the wood of Barry, they would have met with another redoubt furnished with cannon; if they made a greater circuit, they had intrenchments to force, and must have been exposed to the fire of two batteries on the high road leading to Leuze. Thus did marshal Saxe, on every side, make the most advantage of the ground.

With respect to the position of the troops, beginning from the bridge of Vaux, which, after the battle, was called, *the bridge of Carlonne*, there was no one part left naked. The counts de la Marck and de Lorges, were intrusted with the post of Antoin; where were six battalions of Piedmont and Biron, with six cannon at the head of those regiments.

The marquis du Crillon was posted with his regiment hard by the redoubt nearest Antoin; on the left he had dragoons to support him.

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The village of Fontenoy was committed to the care of the count de la Vaugion, who had under him the son of the marquis de Meuze-Choiseul, with the regiment of Dauphin, of which this young man, who is since dead, was colonel. The duke de Biron, lieutenant-general, was at the head of the king's regiment, which he then commanded, close to the village of Fontenoy. On his left was the viscount d'Aubeterre, and the regiment of his name.

Very near upon the same line the general had placed four battalions of French guards, two of Swiss, and the regiment of Courten, on the ground extending from Fontenoy to the wood of Barry.

About two hundred fathom behind them were fifty two squadrons of horse: the duke d'Harcourt, the count d'Estrees, and the count de Penthièvre, were lieutenant-generals of this first line. M. de Clermont-Gallerande, du Cheila, and d'Apcher, commanded the second; and, between these lines of cavalry, in the morning, the general placed the regiments of la Couronne, Hainault, Soissons, and Royal.

On the left was the Irish brigade, under the command of my lord Clare, in a little plain of about one hundred paces. Further on was the regiment of Vaisseaux, of which the marquis de Guerchi was then colonel. Betwixt these brigades were M. de Clermont-Tonnere, and the prince de Pons, of the house of Lorraine, at the head of the brigade of cavalry of Royal Roussillon.

The king's household, and the carabineers,

were in the corps de reserve. This was a new practice of marshal Saxe, recommended by the chevalier Folard, to secrete from the enemy's view those troops which are most famed for bravery, against whom they generally direct the flower of their forces.

These dispositions being all made, or upon the point of being made, in silence they waited for the break of day. At four in the morning, marshal Saxe, attended by his aid-de-camps, and by the principal officers, went to visit all the posts. The Dutch, who were already forming, kept continually firing at these officers; which the marshal perceiving, said, "Gentlemen, there will be occasion for your lives to day." He made them dismount, and walked a long time through this hollow way, of which we have already made mention. The fatigue exhausted his strength, and increased his illness; finding himself grow weaker, he got into his wicker vehicle again, where he rested for some little time. At break of day count d'Argenson went to see whether the artillery of the redoubts and villages was in good order, and whether the field-pieces were all arrived. They were to have a hundred pieces of cannon, and they had only sixty. Here the presence and directions of the ministers were necessary. He gave orders for them to bring the forty pieces that were wanting; but in the tumult and hurry, almost unavoidable on such an occasion, they forgot to bring the number of balls which such artillery required. The field-pieces were four-pounders, and drawn by soldiers; the cannon in the villages and the redoubts

redoubts, as also those planted on this side the Scheld, against the Dutch, were from four to sixteen pounders. Two battalions belonging to the ordnance were distributed in Antoin, Fontenoy, and the redoubts, under the direction of M. Brocard, lieutenant-general of artillery.

The enemy had eighty one cannon, and eight mortars. Their field-pieces were three pounders; they were what we used formerly to call *fauconets*; their length is about four feet and a half; their ordinary charge is two pounds of powder, and they carry two hundred and fifty fathom at full shot. There were some that carried only balls of a pound and a half. The cannonading began on both sides. Marshal Saxe told marshal Noailles, that here the enemy would stop: he supposed them to have formed a deeper design than they really had, imagining they would do just what he would have done in their place; that they would keep the French army in awe, and in continual alarm; by which means they might retard, and, perhaps, absolutely prevent the taking of Tournay. And indeed they were posted in such a manner, that they could not be attacked with advantage; while, at the same time, they had it in their power constantly to harass the besieging army. This was the opinion of the old general Kottbus: but the duke of Cumberland's courage was too warm, and the confidence of the English too great, to listen to advice. At the time they began to cannonade, marshal Noailles was near to Fontenoy; and gave an account to marshal Saxe of the work he had done the beginning
of

of the night, in joining the village of Fontenoy to the first of the three redoubts betwixt Fontenoy and Antoin. He acted as his first aid-de-camp, thus sacrificing the jealousy of command to the good of the state, and forgetting his own rank, to yield the precedency to a general who was not only a foreigner, but younger in commission than himself. Marshal Saxe was perfectly sensible of the real value of this magnanimity; and never was there so perfect a harmony betwixt two men, who, from the ordinary weakness of the human heart, should naturally have been at variance.

At this very moment the duke of Grammont came up, when marshal Noailles said to him, "Nephew, we should embrace one another on the day of battle; perhaps we shall not see one another again." Accordingly they embraced each other most tenderly; and then marshal Noailles went to give the king an account of the several posts which he had visited.

The duke of Grammont met count Lowendahl, who advanced with him within a very little distance of the first redoubt of the wood of Barry, opposite to an English battery. Here a cannon-ball of three pound weight struck the duke of Grammont's horse, and covered count Lowendahl with blood; a piece of flesh which flew off with the shot, fell into his boot. "Have a care," says he to the duke of Grammont, "your horse is killed;" "and I too," answered the duke. The upper part of his thigh was shattered by the ball, and he was carried off the field. When M. de Peyronie met him upon the road

road to Fontenoy, he was dead. The surgeon made a report of it to the king, who cried out with concern, " Ah ! we shall lose a great many more to-day."

The cannonading continued on both sides till eight in the morning with great vivacity, without the enemy's seeming to have formed any settled plan. Towards seven, the English encompassed the whole ground of the village of Fontenoy, and attacked it on every side. They flung bombs into it, one of which fell just before marshal Saxe, who was then speaking to count Lowendahl.

The Dutch afterwards advanced towards Antoin, and the two attacks were equally well supported. The count de Vauguion, who commanded in Fontenoy, with the young count de Meuze under him, constantly repulsed the English. He had made intrenchments in the village, and enjoined the regiment of Dauphin not to fire but according to his orders. He was well obeyed, for the soldiers did not fire till they were almost muzzle to muzzle, and sure of their mark; at each discharge they made the air resound with *Vive le roi*. The count de la Marck, with the count de Lorges, in Antoin, employed the Dutch, both horse and foot. The marquis de Chambonas also repulsed the enemy in the several attacks of the redoubt of Eu. The English presented themselves thrice before Fontenoy, and the Dutch twice before Antoin. At their second attack, almost a whole Dutch squadron was swept away by the cannon of Antoin, and only fifteen left; from that time the Dutch continued

continued to act but very faintly, and at a distance.

The king was, at that time, along with the dauphin, near *the justice of our lady in the wood*, against which the English played very briskly with their cannon; even the small musket-shot reached thus far; a domestic of count d'Argenson having been wounded on the fore-head by a musket-ball, a good way behind the king.

From this position, which was equally distant from the several corps, the king observed every thing with great attention. He was the first that perceived, that, as the enemy attacked Antoin and Fontenoy, and seemed to bend their whole strength on that side, it would be of no use to leave the regiments of Normandy, Auvergne, and Tourraine, towards Ramecroix: he therefore caused Normandy to advance near the Irish, and put Auvergne and Tourraine farther behind. But he did not change this disposition till he had asked the general's advice, intirely solicitous about the success of the day, never presuming on his own opinion, and declaring, that he was come to the army only for his own, and for his son's instruction.

Then he advanced towards the side of Antoin, at the very time that the Dutch were moving forward to make their second attack. The cannon balls fell round him and the Dauphin; and an officer named M. d'Arbaud, afterwards colonel, was covered with dirt from the rebounding of a ball. The French have the character of gaiety even in the midst of danger; the king, and those about him, finding themselves daubed

with

with the dirt thrown up by this shot, fell laughing ; the king made them pick up the balls, and said to M. de Chabrier, major of artillery, " Send these balls back to the enemy, I will have nothing belonging to them." He afterwards returned to his former post, and, with surprise, observed, that most of the balls that were then fired towards the woods of Barry, from the English batteries, fell upon the regiment of Royal Roussillon, which did not make the least movement, whereby he could form any remark either upon its danger or its losses.

The enemy's attack, till ten or eleven o'clock, was no more than what marshal Saxe had foreseen. They kept firing, to no manner of purpose, upon the villages and redoubts. Towards ten the duke took the resolution of forcing his way betwixt the redoubt of the woods of Barry and of Fontenoy. In this attempt he had a deep hollow way to pass, exposed to the cannon of the redoubt ; and, on the other side of the hollow way, he had the French army to fight. The enterprize seemed temerarious. The duke of Cumberland took this resolution, only because an officer, whose name was Ingoldsby, whom he commanded to attack the redoubt of Eu, did not execute his orders. Had he made himself master of that redoubt, he might have easily, and without loss, brought his whole army forward, protected even by the cannon of the redoubt, which he would have turned against the French. But, notwithstanding this disappointment, the English advanced through the hollow way. They passed it almost without disordering their ranks,

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dragging their cannon through the by-ways; they formed upon three lines, pretty close, each of them four deep, advancing betwixt the batteries of cannon, which galled them most terribly, the ground not above four hundred fathom in breadth. Whole ranks dropped down to the right and left; but they were instantly filled up; and the cannon, which they brought up against Fontenoy and the redoubts, answered the French artillery. Thus they marched boldly on, preceded by six field pieces, with six more in the middle of their lines.

Opposite to them were four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiss guards at their left, the regiment of Courten to their right, next to them the regiment of Aubettere, and farther on the king's regiment, which lined Fontenoy the length of the hollow way.

From that part where the French guards were posted, to where the English were forming, it was a rising ground.

The officers of the French guards said to one another, "We must go and take the English cannon." Accordingly they ascended soon to the top with their grenadiers; but when they got there, great was their surprise to find a whole army before them. The enemy's cannon and small shot brought very near sixty of them to the ground, and the remainder were obliged to return to their ranks.

In the mean time the English advanced; and this line of infantry, composed of the French and Swiss guards and of Courten, having upon their right the regiment of Aubettere, and a battalion of

of the king's, drew near the enemy. The regiment of English guards was at the distance of fifty paces. Campbell's and the Royal Scotch were the first: Mr Campbell was their lieutenant-general, my lord Albemarle their major-general, and Mr Churchill, a natural son of the famous duke of Marlborough, their brigadeer. The English officers saluted the French by taking off their hats. The count de Chabannes and the duke de Biron advanced forward, and returned the compliment. My lord Charles Hay, captain of the English guards, cried out, "Gentlemen of the French guards, give fire."

The count d'Antroche, then lieutenant, and since captain, of grenadiers, made answer with a loud voice, "Gentlemen, we never fire first; fire you first." Then the captain said to his men in English, "Fire." The English made a running fire; that is, they fired in divisions, in this manner; that when the front of a battalion, four deep, had fired, another battalion made its discharge, and then a third, while the first were loading again. The line of French infantry did not fire; it was single, and four deep, the ranks pretty distant, and not at all supported by any other body of infantry. It was impossible but their eyes must have been surprised at the depth of the English corps, and their ears stunned with the continual fire. Nineteen officers of the guards were wounded at this first discharge; Messieurs de Clisson, de Langey, and de la Peyrere, lost their lives. Ninety five soldiers were killed upon the spot; two hundred and eighty five were wounded: eleven Swiss
F f 2 officers

officers were wounded, as also one hundred and forty five of their common men, and sixty four were killed. Colonel de Courten, his lieutenant-colonel, four officers, and seventy five soldiers dropped down dead; fourteen officers, and two hundred soldiers were dangerously wounded. The first rank being thus swept away, the other three looked behind them, and, seeing only some cavalry at the distance of above three hundred fathom, they dispersed. The duke of Grammont, their colonel, and first lieutenant-general, whose presence would have encouraged them, was dead; and M. de Luttaux, second lieutenant-general, did not come up till they were routed. The English, in the mean time, advanced gradually, as if they were performing their exercise: one might see the majors holding their canes upon the soldiers muskets, to make them fire low and straight.

Thus the English pierced beyond Fontenoy and the redoubt. This corps, which before was drawn up in three lines, being now straitened by the nature of the ground, became a long solid column, unshaken from its weight, and still more so from its courage. It advanced towards the regiment of Aubeterre. At the news of this danger, M. de Luttaux made all haste from Fontenoy, where he had been dangerously wounded. His aid-de-camp begged of him to begin with having his wound dressed. "The king's service," answered M. de Luttaux, "is more dear to me than life." He advanced with the duke de Biron at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre, led by the colonel of that name;

name; but, on coming up, he received two mortal wounds. At this same discharge M. de Biron had a horse killed under him; a hundred soldiers of Aubeterre were killed, and two hundred wounded. The duke de Biron, with the king's regiment under his command, stops the march of the column on its left flank. Upon which the regiment of English guards, detaching itself from the rest, advances some paces towards him, kills three of his captains, wounds fifteen captains and twelve lieutenants; at the same time two hundred and sixty six soldiers were killed, and seventy nine wounded. The regiment de la Couronne, perceiving itself placed a little behind the king's, presents itself before the English column: but its colonel, the duke d'Havre', the lieutenant-colonel, all the staff-officers, and, in short, thirty seven officers, are wounded, so as to be obliged to quit the field; and the first rank of the soldiers, to the number of two hundred and sixty, is overthrown.

The regiment of Soissonnois, advancing after la Couronne, had fourteen officers wounded, and lost a hundred and thirty soldiers.

The regiment of Royal, which was then with la Couronne, lost more than any other corps at these discharges; six of its officers, one hundred and thirty six soldiers, were killed; thirty two officers, and five hundred and nine soldiers, were wounded.

The English, who were advancing towards the king's regiment, might attack Fontenoy in reverse, while they were cannonading it on the other side, and then the battle would have been inevitably

inevitably lost. The duke de Biron, having placed some grenadiers in this hollow way which lined Fontenoy, rallied his regiment, and made a brisk discharge upon the English, which obliged them to halt. One might see the king's regiment, with those of la Couronne and Aubeterre, intrenched behind the heaps of their comrades, who were either killed or wounded. In the mean time, two battalions of French and Swiss guards were getting off, by different roads, across the lines of cavalry, which were above two hundred fathom behind them. The officers, who rallied them, met M. de Luttaux, first lieutenant-general of the army, who was returning, betwixt Antoin and Fontenoy. "Ah, gentlemen," said he, "do not rally me; I am wounded, and obliged to retire." He died some time after in unspeakable torments. Before he retired, he said to the soldiers he met belonging to the regiment of guards, "My friends, go and join your comrades that are guarding the bridge of Calonne." Others hurried through a little bottom which goes from Barry to *Our lady in the wood*, up to the very place where the king had taken post, opposite the wood of Barry, near la Justice. Their grenadiers, and the remainder of the two battalions, rallied, under the count de Chabannes, towards the redoubt of Eu, and there stood firm with M. de la Sonne, who formed it into one battalion, of which he took the command; because, though young, he was the oldest captain, the rest having been either killed or wounded.

The English column kept firm and close, and

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was continually gaining ground. Marshal Saxe, with all the coolness imaginable, seeing how dubious the affair was, sent word to the king by the marquis de Meuze, that he begged of him to repass the bridge along with the dauphin, and he would do all he could to repair the disorder. "Oh! I am very sure he will do what is proper," answered the king; "but I will stay where I am." This prince was every moment sending his aid-de-camps from brigade to brigade, and from post to post. Each set out with two pages of the stables, whom he sent back successively to the king, and afterwards returned to give an account himself. The order of battle was no longer the same it had been in the beginning. Of the first line of cavalry not above the half was left. The division of count de Estrees was near Antoin, under the duke of Harcourt, making head with its dragoons, and with Crillon, against the Dutch, who, it was apprehended, might penetrate on that side, while the English, on the other, were beginning to be victorious. The other half of this first line, which was naturally the duke of Harcourt's division, remained under the command of the count de Estrees. This line vigorously attacked the English. M. de Fienne led his regiment, M. de Cernay the Croats, the duke of Fitz-James the regiment called after his name. But little did the efforts of this cavalry avail against a solid body of infantry, so compact, so well disciplined, and so intrepid, whose running fire, regularly supported, must, of course, disperse all those small detached bodies which successively presented

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ed themselves : besides, it is a known thing, that cavalry alone can very seldom make any impression upon a close and compact infantry. Marshal Saxe was in the midst of this fire. His illness not permitting him to wear a cuirass, he had a kind of buckler made, of several folds of stitched taffety, which he carried on his saddle bow : he put on his buckler, and rode up with full speed to give directions for the second line of cavalry to advance against the column. The count de Noailles marched directly with his brigade, composed of the regiment of his name, of which the eldest of the family is always colonel ; the only privilege of the kind in France, and granted to the first marshal of the name of Noailles, who raised this regiment at his own expence. The regiment belonging to the duke de Penthièvre made also a part of this brigade. The count de Noailles fell on with great bravery ; the marquis de Vignacourt, captain in this regiment, the worthy descendent of a family which has given three grand masters to the order of Malta, rushes with his squadron to attack this column in flank : but the squadron was cut in pieces in the midst of the enemy's ranks, except fourteen troopers, who forced their way through with M. de Vignacourt. An English soldier drove his bayonet with such violence into this officer's leg, quite through the boot, that he was obliged to leave both bayonet and fusil : the horse, having received several wounds, ran away with his master ; while the butt end of the musket, trailing on the ground, widened and tore the wound, of which the captain died a little

little while after. Out of fourteen troopers, who had broke through the column, six remained, who were soon made prisoners; but the English sent them back the next day, out of regard to their bravery.

The count d'Argenson, son of the secretary at war, charged the enemy with his regiment of Berry, at the same time that the regiment of Fiennes was also advancing. He came on to the attack three times at the head of a single squadron; and, upon a false report, his father thought him killed. The count de Brionne, the chevalier de Brancas, the marquis de Chabillant, headed and rallied their troopers; but all these corps were repulsed one after the other. The count de Clermont-Tonnere, master-de-camp of the cavalry, the count d'Estrees, and the marquis de Croffi, were every where: all the general officers kept riding from brigade to brigade. The regiments of the colonel-general, and Fiennes, with the Croats, suffered greatly. That of prince Clermont was still more roughly handled, twenty two of their officers having been wounded, and of the Croats twelve. All the staff-officers were in motion. M. de Vaudreuil, major-general of the army, rode every minute from right to left. M. de Puisegur, Messieurs de Saint Sauveur, de Saint Georges, de Meziers, aid-quarter-masters, were all wounded. The count de Longaunai, aid-major-general, received a wound, of which he died a few days after. It was in these attacks that the chevalier d'Apcher, lieutenant-general, (whose name is pronounced d'Ache') had his foot shattered by a ball.

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Towards

Towards the end of the battle he came to give an account to the king, and spoke a long while to his majesty without expressing the least sign of pain, till, at length, the violence of the anguish obliged him to retire.

The more the English column advanced, the deeper it became, and, of course, the better able to repair the continual losses which it must have sustained from so many repeated attacks. It still marched on, close and compact, over the bodies of the dead and wounded on both sides, seeming to form one single corps of about sixteen thousand men, though it was then in three divisions.

A great number of troopers were driven back in disorder, as far as the very place where the king was posted with his son; so that these two princes were separated by the croud that came tumbling upon them. The king did not change colour; he was concerned, but shewed neither anger nor inquietude. Happening to observe about two hundred troopers scattered behind him towards *Our lady of the wood*, he said to a light-horse-man, "Go and rally those men in my name, and bring them back." The light-horse-man galloped, and led them back against the enemy. This man, whose name was *de Jouy*, did not imagine he had done any great feat; the minister enquired after him a long while, to reward him, before he could be found. During this disorder, the brigades of the life-guards, who were in reserve, advanced of themselves against the enemy. Here the chevaliers de *Suz* and de *Saumery* were mortally wounded. Four
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squadrons of gendarms arrived this very instant from Doway ; and, notwithstanding the fatigue of a march of seven leagues, they immediately engaged the enemy ; but all these corps were received like the rest, with the same intrepidity, and the same running fire. The young count de Chivrier, a guidon, was killed ; and it happened to be the very same day that he was admitted into his troop. The chevalier de Monaco, son of the duke de Valentinois, had his leg pierced through. M. du Guesclin received a wound on the foot. The carabineers charged the enemy ; but had six officers killed, and one and twenty wounded. All these attacks were made without any concert or agreement, and are what we call irregular charges, in which all the bravery in the world is of no manner of use against discipline and order.

Marshal Saxe, though extremely weakened with the fatigue, was still on horseback, riding gently in the midst of the fire. He passed close under the front of the English column, to observe every thing that passed towards the left, near the wood of Barry. There they were going on in the very same manner as towards the right, endeavouring, but in vain, to throw the column into disorder. The French regiments presented themselves one after the other ; while the English, facing about on every side, placing properly their cannon, and always firing in divisions, kept up this running and constant fire when they were attacked ; after the attack they remained immoveable, and ceased to fire. The marshal, perceiving a French regiment at that

time engaged with the enemy, and of which whole ranks dropped down, while the regiment never stirred, asked what corps that was? they told him it was the regiment de Vaisseaux, commanded by M. du Guerchi; he then cried out, "Admirable indeed!" Two and thirty officers of this regiment were wounded, one third of the soldiers killed or wounded. The regiment of Hainault did not suffer less: their colonel was the son of the prince de Craon, governor of Tuscany; the father served the enemy, and his sons the king. This hopeful youth was killed at the head of his troop; near him the lieutenant-colonel was mortally wounded; nineteen officers of this corps were wounded dangerously, and two hundred and sixty soldiers lay dead upon the spot.

The regiment of Normandy advanced; but they had as many officers and soldiers wounded as that of Hainault: they were headed by their lieutenant-colonel, M. de Solenci, whose bravery the king commended on the field of battle, and afterwards rewarded, by making him a brigadier. Some Irish battalions fell next upon the flank of this column: colonel Dillon was killed, fifty six officers were wounded, and thirteen fell upon the spot.

Marshal Saxe then returns by the front of the column, which had advanced three hundred paces beyond the redoubt of Eu and of Fontenoy. He goes and sees whether Fontenoy still held out; there they had no more ball, so that they answered the enemy's shot with nothing but gunpowder.

M. du Brocard,

M. du Brocard, lieutenant-general of artillery, and several other officers of the ordnance, were killed. The marshal then desired the duke d'Harcourt, whom he happened to meet, to go and beseech his majesty to remove farther off; at the same time he sent orders to the count de la Marck, who defended Antoin, to quit that post with the regiment of Piedmont. The battle seemed to be past all hopes; they were bringing back their field-pieces from every side, and were just upon the point of removing the artillery of the village of Fontenoy, though a supply of ball was come; they had even begun to send off the train. Marshal Saxe's intention was now to make his last effort against the English column. This enormous mass of infantry had suffered much, though it still seemed to be of the same depth: the soldiers were surprised to find themselves in the middle of the French camp without any cavalry: they continued unshaken, but did not appear to receive further order: their countenance was bold and undaunted, and they seemed masters of the field of battle. If the Dutch had advanced between the redoubts of Bettens, and acted vigorously in conjunction with the English, the battle would have been lost beyond all recovery, and there would have been no retreat, either for the army, or, in all probability, for the king and his son. The success of a last attack was dubious. Marshal Saxe, knowing that the victory, or an intire defeat, depended upon this attempt, thought of preparing a safe retreat, at the same time that he was doing all that lay in his power to obtain the victory.

ry. He sent orders to the count de la Marck to evacuate Antoin, to move towards the bridge of Calonne, in order to favour this retreat, in case of a last disappointment. This order was extremely mortifying to the count de la Marck, who saw the Dutch ready to take possession of Antoin the moment he quitted it, and to turn the king's artillery against his own army. The marshal sent a second order by his aid-de-camp, M. Dailvorde ; it was intimated to the count de Lorges, who was made answerable for the execution of it ; so that he was obliged to obey. At that time they despaired of the success of the day ; but the greatest events depend on the most trivial circumstances, on a mistake, on some unexpected stroke.

Those who were near the king must have imagined the battle was lost, knowing that they had no ball at Fontenoy, that most of those who belonged to the ordnance were killed, that they also wanted ball at the post of M. de Chambonas, and that the village of Antoin was going to be evacuated.

Those who were near the duke of Cumberland must have had a bad opinion of the day, because they still imagined themselves exposed to the cross fire of Fontenoy, and of the redoubt of Barry. They were ignorant that the French were firing only with powder ; the Dutch, who could not have been informed of the orders given for evacuating Antoin, did not advance ; the English horse, which might have completed the disorder into which the French cavalry were thrown by the English column, did not appear ;
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they could not advance without coming near to Fontenoy or to the redoubt, the fire of which still seemed uniform. Here it will be asked, why the duke of Cumberland did not take care to have that redoubt attacked in the beginning, since he might have turned the cannon that was there against the French army, which would have secured him the victory? This is the very thing he had endeavoured to effect. At eight o' clock in the morning he ordered brigadier Ingoldsby to enter the woods of Barry with four regiments, in order to make himself master of that post. The brigadier obeyed; but, perceiving the artillery pointed against him, and several battalions who lay flat on their bellies, he went back for cannon; general Campbell promised him some; but this general was mortally wounded at the very beginning of the engagement, with a ball fired from that very redoubt; and the cannon was not ready soon enough. Then the duke of Cumberland, afraid of nothing but of losing time, had taken the resolution of passing on with his infantry, in defiance of the fire of the redoubt; and this enterprize, which one would imagine must have proved fatal to him, had hitherto succeeded.

They now held a tumultuous kind of council around the king, who was pressed by the general, and in the name of France, not to expose his person any longer. At this very instant arrived the duke de Richlieu, lieutenant-general of the army, who served as aid-de-camp to the king: he was come from reconnoitering the column and Fontenoy; he had charged the enemy with the regiment

regiment of Vaisseaux, and with the life-guards; he had also made M. Bellet advance with the gendarmes under his command; and these had stopped the column, which now no longer advanced. Having thus rode about and fought on every side without being wounded, he presents himself quite out of breath, with his sword in hand, and all covered with dust: "Well," "Resce," says marshal Noailles to him, (this was a familiar expression used by the marshal) "what news do you bring us, and what is your opinion?" "My news," says the duke of Richlieu, "is, that the victory is ours, if we have a mind; and my opinion is, that we immediately bring four pieces of cannon to bear against the front of the column; while this artillery throws it into disorder, the king's household and the other troops will surround it. We must fall upon them like foragers, and I'll lay my life that the day is ours." "But Fontenoy," said they, "is possessed by the enemy." "I come from thence," said the duke: "it holds out still. "We must see," replied they, "whether the marshal has not designed this cannon for some other use." He answered them, "There is no other to make of it." He was convinced himself, and he persuaded the rest. The king was the first who approved of this important proposal, and every body else joined in the opinion. He gave orders, therefore, that instantly they should go and bring four pieces of cannon. Twenty rode away directly on that errand; when a captain of the regiment of Tourraine, whose name was *Iffards*,
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aged one and twenty, perceived four pieces of cannon which they were carrying back ; he gave notice thereof directly, and that very evening he had the cross of St Lewis.

The king charged the duke de Pequigni, who has now the title of *duke de Chaulnes*, to go and see those four pieces pointed : they were designated, they said, to cover the retreat. " We shall make no retreat," said the duke de Chaulnes ; " the king commands that these four pieces contribute to the victory." Upon which M. de Senneval, lieutenant of artillery, goes and plants them directly opposite to the column. The duke de Richlieu gallops full speed, in the king's name, to give orders to the king's household to march : he communicates this news to M. de Montesson, the commanding officer, who is transported with joy, and immediately puts himself at their head. The prince de Soubise assembles his gendarmes under his command ; the duke de Chaulnes does the same with his light-horse ; they all draw up in order, and march. The four squadrons of gendarmes advancing at the right of the king's household, the horse-grenadiers at their head, under their captain M. de Grille, and the musketeers, commanded by M. de Juilliac, rush boldly on. The dauphin was advancing, with sword in hand, to put himself at the head of the king's household, but they stopped him, telling him, that his life was too precious : " Mine is not precious," said he ; " it is the general's life that is precious the day of battle."

In this important moment, the count d'Eu,
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and the duke de Biron at the right, beheld, with concern, the troops quitting their post at Antoin, the count de la Marck, their commander, with reluctance obeying : " I will answer," said the duke de Biron, " for his disobedience ; I am sure the king will approve of it, now that there is so great a change in our favour ; I answer that marshal Saxe will think it right." The marshal coming up at that very time, was of the duke de Biron's opinion. The general having been informed of the king's resolution, and of the good disposition of the troops, readily acquiesced. He changed opinion when he was obliged to change it. He made the regiment of Piedmont return to Antoin ; he moved, notwithstanding his weakness, with great velocity to the right and to the left, and towards the Irish brigade ; strictly recommending to all the troops that he met upon his way, not to make any more irregular charges, but to act in concert.

Whilst he was with the Irish brigade, attended by M. de Lowendahl and my lord Clare, the duke de Biron, the count d'Estrees, and the marquis de Croisy, were together on the right, opposite the left flank of the column, upon a rising ground : they perceived the Irish, and the regiment of Normandy, who were advancing towards the right flank. " Now it is time," said they to one another, " to march on our side ; the English are beaten." M. de Biron puts himself at the head of the king's regiment ; those of Aubeterre and Courten follow him ; and all the rest advance under the count d'Estrees. Five squadrons of Penthievre's regiment

giment follow M. de Croisy and his children; the squadrons of Fitz-James, Noailles, Chabrilant, Brancas, and Brionne, advanced with their colonels, though they had received no orders; and it seemed as if there was a perfect harmony between their movements, and all that had been done by M. de Richlieu. Never was the king better served than at that very instant: it was the quickest and most unanimous movement. My lord Clare marches up with the Irish: the regiment of Normandy, the French guards, and a battalion of Swiss, advancing higher up towards the redoubt of Eu. All these corps moved at the same time; the Irish, commanded by my lord Clare, against the front of the column, the guards higher up, under M. the count de Chabannes, their lieutenant-colonel. They were all separated from the English column by a hollow way; they force through it, firing almost muzzle to muzzle, and then fall upon the English with their bayonets fixed on their muskets. M. de Bonnafanse, at that time first captain of the regiment of Normandy, who was afterwards the first that jumped upon the covert-way of Tournay, was now the first of his regiment that broke through the column: but the officers of the French guards had already made an impression. The carabineers betwixt the Irish and the king's household were then piercing through the first ranks; they were seen to run about and to rally in the midst of the enemy, when the crowd and their impetuosity had disordered their ranks. Unluckily they mistook the Irish, who have near the same uniform as the English,

for English battalions, and fell upon them with great fury. The Irish cried out, *Vive France*, but in the confusion they could not be heard; so that some Irish were killed through mistake.

The four cannon which the duke of Richlieu had called for, and by the duke de Chaulnes had been levelled within one hundred paces of the column, had already made two discharges, which thinned the ranks, and began to shake the front of the enemy's army. All the king's household advanced towards the front of the column, and threw it into disorder. The cavalry pressed it hard upon the left flank; marshal Saxe had recommended to them particularly to bear upon the enemy with the breasts of their horses; and he was well obeyed. The count d'Estrees, the young prince de Brionne, killed some of the enemy themselves in the foremost ranks: the officers of the king's chamber charged pell mell with the guards and the musketeers. All the pages were there with sword in hand; so that the marquis de Tressau, who commanded the brigade of the king's bodyguards, said to the king after the battle, "Sire, you sent us pages, whom we took for so many officers."

The duke de Biron at that time held the Dutch troops in play, with the king's regiment, and the brigade de Crillon. He had already sent M. de Bosseul, a first page of the great stable, to tell the king that every thing went well on his side, and that he would undertake to give a good account of the enemy. On the other side, the marquis d'Harcourt, son of the duke of that name, came

to acquaint the king, in his father's name, that the troops were rallied on every side, and the victory was sure.

At this very instant arrived the count de Castellane, dispatched by marshal Saxe to inform the king, that the field of battle was recovered. In seven or eight minutes the whole English column was dispersed; general Ponsonby, my lord Albemarle's brother, five colonels, five captains of the guards, and a prodigious number of officers were slain. The English repassed the hollow way betwixt Fontenoy and the redoubt in the greatest disorder; the ground which had been taken up by their column, as well as the hollow way, was strewed with wounded and dead bodies.

We have entered into this long detail concerning the battle of Fontenoy, because its importance deserved it. This engagement determined the fate of the war, paved the way for the conquest of the Low Countries, and served as a counterpoise to all disappointments. The presence of the king and his son, and the danger to which these two princes and France were exposed, greatly increased the importance of this ever-memorable day.

S U P P L E M E N T
T O T H E
H I S T O R Y
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The W A R of 1741.

Affairs of Genoa in 1746 and 1747.

THE war which began upon the Danube, and almost at the very gates of Vienna, and which, at first, seemed as if it would have lasted only a few months, was, at the end of six years, removed to the southern coasts of France. And at the same time that the Austrians and Piedmontese, masters of Genoa, and of the whole coast, were making preparations to enter Provence, Britany was likewise menaced by an English fleet.

The design of the enemy, especially the English, was, at that time, to invade Provence; to destroy port L'Orient, and, with it, the East-India company; to make themselves masters of port Louis, which must fall after L'Orient; to lay Britany under contribution; to excite the Calvinists towards Rochelle, Languedoc, and Dauphine, to a revolt, while they were concerting measures to attack the different settlements of

of France in Asia and America, and depended on making themselves masters of Naples, after they had brought Genoa under the yoke.

These vast expectations were not without some foundation; for the Austrians were masters of Italy, and, about this time, the English had hardly any more enemies at sea. Indeed the king's campaigns, and marshal Saxe's victories, made amends for every thing. But the king of Great Britain reckoned, that he should soon make the Dutch a warlike power, by obliging them to accept of his son-in-law for their Stadtholder; besides, he was then contracting for an entire army of Russians, to stop the progress of the king's arms in Flanders.

In this conjuncture, Britany was no more in a posture of defence than Provence. An old officer, who commanded at port Louis, wrote word to court: "I discovered, on the 28th of September, a fleet whose number is infinitely increased; but I shall easily withstand these Englishmen." The 2d of October he wrote again: "They have landed at Polduc with three hundred and fifty flat-bottomed boats, and fifty five men of war. If we had muskets we should beat them; but the peasants have nothing but pitchforks."

By these letters it appears, to what danger that country was exposed, notwithstanding the confident expressions of an old commander. General St Clair, with about seven thousand regular troops, landed without opposition at the mouth of the little river of Polduc. From thence he advanced to Plemur, and incamped on an eminence

eminence which commanded L'Orient and Port Louis. Six days were spent before he cannonaded the town. If the English lost all this time, the French did not employ it better: for those who commanded in the place, and who were able to defend themselves a long time, as they had artillery, and twelve thousand militia of Britany, capitulated the first day of the attack, upon receiving a declaration of general St Clair, in which, according to custom, it was signified, that he would destroy every one that resisted with fire and sword.

Such mistakes, it is said, were committed on this occasion, as nothing, except the conduct of general St Clair could surpass. Never was there a stronger instance how greatly the fate of an important enterprise, and of a whole province, depends on a critical minute, on false advice, on a panic terror, or a mistake. Early in the morning, the drums of the militia, who were not as yet perfect in their trade, beat the general. General St Clair asked the people of the country, why they beat the general after capitulation? Answer was made, that the garison had laid a snare for him by capitulating, for they were going to fall upon him with twelve thousand men. During this conversation the wind changed, and admiral Lestock made a signal to give him notice of it; upon which St Clair, afraid of being attacked, and of not having an opportunity of reembarking his men, precipitately quitted his post, and returned to Plemur in some confusion.

In the mean time, those who had made the capitulation, came out of town to make their submission

submission to the English general: but they could hardly believe their eyes when they found no body in the camp. So preposterously did the English reembark, just when the French were come to bring them the keys of the town. Ashamed of their bad conduct, they made a descent upon the little island of Quiberon; which was an enterprize as ill contrived, as that of Port L'Orient had been executed. For this being almost a desert island, the taking of it could answer no purpose. In short, this great armament produced nothing but blunders and laughter; whereas, every other part of the war was but too serious and too terrible.

At that time a revolution was carrying on in Genoa, much more important, and more surprising, than that which had lately alarmed the coast of Britany.

The Austrians used the right of conquest with the utmost rigour. The Genoese having exhausted their resources, and given away all the money of their bank of St George, to pay sixteen millions of livres, desired to be forgiven the other eight. But, the 30th of November 1746, notice was given them on the part of the empress-queen, that they must not only pay that sum, but likewise as much more, for the maintenance of nine regiments who were quartered in the suburbs of St Pietro d'Arena, and Bissino, and in the neighbouring villages. At the publishing of these orders, despair seized every inhabitant; their misery was at the utmost pitch, their commerce ruined, their credit lost, their bank exhausted, their lands laid waste, their fine country-

country-houses, which embellished the environs of Genoa, plundered; and, in short, the inhabitants treated as slaves by the soldiery. They had nothing more to lose but their lives; and there was not a single Genoese who did not seem determined to lose the last drop of his blood, rather than to bear any longer with so severe and so ignominious a treatment.

The captive Genoese reckoned, amongst the rest of their disgraces, the loss of the kingdom of Corsica, which had been long in a state of rebellion; and now they made no doubt but the malecontents would be supported by the victorious arms of Austria. In this chaos of revolutions, Corsica, which pretended to be oppressed by Genoa, as Genoa by the Austrians, rejoiced at the calamity of her masters. This surplusage of affliction affected only the senate; by losing Corsica they were deprived only of a phantom of authority; but the rest of the Genoese were a prey to those real sorrows with which human misery is attended. Some of the senators, privately, and with great address, fomented the desperate resolutions which the inhabitants seemed disposed to take. It behoved them to act with the greatest circumspection on this occasion; for, in all probability, a hasty and ill concerted insurrection would have been attended with the destruction of both senate and city. The emissaries of the senate contented themselves with saying to those who seemed to have most credit among the people, "How long will you wait? till the Austrians come to cut your throats in the arms of your wives and children, to rob you

“ of the little food you have yet left ? Their
 “ troops are dispersed without the inclosure of
 “ the walls : in the city there are only those
 “ that guard the gates ; you are here above forty
 “ thousand men able to strike a blow : is it not
 “ far preferable to die, than to be spectators of
 “ the ruin of your country ?” By a thousand
 such discourses were the minds of the people in-
 flamed ; but they did not yet stir, as no body
 had dared to set up the standard of liberty. An
 opportunity soon offered. The Austrians want-
 ed to remove some cannon and mortars out of
 the arsenal of Genoa, for the expedition into
 Provence ; and they obliged the inhabitants to
 perform this drudgery. The people murmured,
 but obeyed. An Austrian captain happening to
 strike an inhabitant, who did not bestir himself
 sufficiently ; this was a signal, at which the peo-
 ple assembled, rose, and armed themselves in a
 moment, with every thing they could lay hold
 on, with stones, sticks, swords, muskets, wea-
 pons of every kind. The people, who had not
 the least thoughts of defending the town when
 the enemy was at a distance, rose up in its de-
 fence when it was in the possession of the Au-
 strians.

The marquis de Botta, who was then at St
 Pietro d’Arena, imagined that this popular in-
 surrection would subside of itself, and that this
 transient fury would soon be succeeded by fear.
 The next day he only reinforced the guards of
 the town-gates, and sent some detachments into
 the streets. Upon this the people assemble in
 greater crouds than the preceding day, and flock

to the Doge's palace, demanding the arms that were kept there. The Doge made no answer: but the domesticks pointed out another magazine. The people immediately run and break it open, and arm themselves; about a hundred officers are distributed among the populace; they barricade the streets; and though it was now become necessary to establish some kind of order in the midst of this sudden and furious commotion, yet it did not, in the least, slacken the popular ardour.

One would think, that this and the following days, the consternation which had so long possessed the minds of the Genoese, was transfused into the Austrians. The marquis de Botta was in St Pietro d'Arena with some regiments, and yet did not attempt to fight the people with his regular troops: he suffered the revolted to make themselves masters of the gates of St Thomas and St Michael. The senate, as yet dubious whether the people would maintain what they had so bravely begun, sent a deputation to the Austrian general in St Pietro d'Arena. The marquis of Botta was negotiating when he should have been fighting. He told the senators, that they should arm the Genoese troops, whom he had left disarmed in the town, and that they should join the Austrians to fall upon the rebels, as soon as he had made a proper signal. Some of the senators, who were devoted to the enemy, promised to execute his orders: but it was not to be expected that the Genoese senate should join with the oppressors of their country to finish its destruction.

The

The Germans, depending on the correspondence they had in the town, advanced to the gate of Bisagno, through the suburb of that name; but they were received with a volley of cannon and musket-shot. The people of Genoa composed an army: the drum was beat in their name; and orders were issued out, upon pain of death, to every citizen to make his public appearance in arms, and to range himself under the colours of his respective ward. The Germans were attacked at the same time in the suburb of Bisagno, and in St Pietro d'Arena. The alarm-bell was rung in all the villages of the valleys; and the peasants assembled, to the number of twenty thousand. A nobleman of the house of Doria, at the head of the people, attacked the marquis of Botta in St Pietro d'Arena; when the general and his nine regiments were obliged to save themselves by flight. They left four thousand prisoners behind them, and above a thousand slain, with all their magazines and equipages, and retired, in great disorder, to the post of Bochetta. Hither they were pursued by the peasants, who forced them, at length, to quit this post, and to fly as far as Gavi. Thus it was that the Austrians lost Genoa, for having despised and oppressed the people, and for being so simple as to believe, that the senate would join with them against the inhabitants, who had taken up arms in defence of that very senate. Europe was surprised to see, how a weak people, who had never been bred to arms, and whom neither the inclosure of their rocks, nor the kings of France, Spain, and Naples, had been

been able to save from the Austrian yoke, had the bravery, unassisted, to break their chains, and to expel their conquerors.

In this commotion a great many violences were committed: the people plundered several houses belonging to the senators suspected of favouring the Austrians. But what was more surprising in this revolution is, that this very same people, who had four thousand of their conquerors in prison, and had driven away the remainder, did not turn their arms against their masters. It is true, they had chiefs; but these were pointed out by the senate, and none of them were considerable enough to usurp the authority for any time. The people chose thirty six citizens for their governors; but they added four senators to the number, viz. Grimaldi, Scaglia, Lomellini, and Fornari. These four nobles gave an account of every thing to the senate, who did not seem to concern themselves any longer in the government, though they governed in effect: they disavowed at Vienna the revolution which they were fomenting at Genoa, and for which they apprehended the most dreadful chastisement. Their minister at that court declared, that the Genoese nobility had no share in that change, which was called a *revolt*. The court of Vienna, behaving still as masters, and fancying they should soon be able to recover Genoa, intimated to this minister, that the senate should instantly pay the eight millions of livres, which was the remaining part of their fine, and thirty millions more for the damages done to their troops; that they should restore

all the prisoners, and punish the ringleaders of the revolt. These laws, which a provoked master might have prescribed to an impotent and rebellious subject, served only to confirm the Genoese in the resolution of defending themselves, and in the hopes of driving from their territory those whom they had expelled their capital. The four thousand Austrians in the prisons of Genoa, were hostages that quieted their fears.

It is in those times of calamity and despair, that the spirit of patriotism and magnanimity seem to exert themselves with the greatest force; whether it be that those virtues become more conspicuous in the general desolation, or whether indeed the love of one's oppressed country does not revive the whole vigour of the soul, so as to raise human nature above itself. Of this was seen a memorable instance in Augustin Adorno. This brave republican commanded in the town of Savona, which belongs to the territory of the republic. It was besieged by the king of Sardinia; and the senate, having submitted to the Austrians, ordered him to give up the town. He made answer, that he could not obey any other orders than those of a free senate; after which he held out long enough for succours, but none came. The people of Genoa, though victorious at home, were not sufficiently disciplined to engage in the open field; and France, being obliged to defend Provence, could not spare any troops for her allies on the other side of the Alps. Thus the valour of Augustin Ador-

Adorno only served to make him prisoner of war, at the very time that Genoa was delivered: but he merited the praises of his country, as well as of the king of Sardinia, to whom he surrendered.

This revolution of Genoa was of great service to Provence. The Austrians, who already possessed one third part of the country, no longer received either provisions or ammunition by the way of Genoa, as in the beginning; and yet they were advanced as far as the river of Argens, with a design of attacking Toulon and Marseilles, assisted by the English fleet.

They soon * took the islands of St Margaret and St Honorat, which had only a garrison of invalids.

In those isles several state-prisoners were confined, who flattered themselves with hopes that the English would set them at liberty: but the commanding officer capitulated so quick, that they permitted him to carry off all his prisoners, with other effects belonging to the king, and his little garrison. It is surprising, that several public journals should pretend to say, that this commanding officer was the marquis de Dreux, lieutenant-general, and grand master of the ceremonies. The mistake is owing to this, that the marquis de Dreux is lord of those islands. The person who commanded there was an old officer, who was tried by a council of war, and condemned to imprisonment, for surrendering so precipitately.

After the taking of those islands, the enemy began

* December 16.

began the siege of Antibes. It was not an easy matter to stop the progress of an army that had seventy one battalions, eight thousand irregulars, and eight thousand horse. Marshal Belleisle was entrusted with this undertaking.

Upon his arrival he could only be a spectator of the deplorable situation, and of the despondency of the whole province, as well as of the king's troops. He was neither able to hinder the passage of the Var, nor to protect the country occupied by the Austrians, who expected a reinforcement of thirty battalions and sixteen squadrons, with cannon, ammunition, and provisions. The coasts were guarded by a few frightened militia. The troops, under no sort of discipline, took hay and straw by force from the inhabitants; and the mules, employed in the service of the army, perished for want of food. The enemy had plundered and laid waste the whole country, from the Var to the river of Arrens and the Durance. Their generals permitted their troops to pillage Vence and Grasse for the space of six hours, because these towns had not been expeditious in paying their contributions.

The Infant Don Philip and the duke of Modena were at Aix in Provence, where they waited to see what efforts France and Spain would make to extricate themselves from this cruel situation. The supplies were, as yet, far off; while the dangers and wants were pressing. Marshal Belleisle began with borrowing fifty thousand crowns in his own name, to relieve the most urgent necessities. He was obliged to perform the

office of intendant, and of commissary of the stores. Then, as fast as the troops came in, he made himself master of different posts, where he stopped the progress of the Austrians. On the one side, he covered Castellane on the Verdon, when the Austrians were going to take possession of it; and, on the other, he secured Draguignan and Brignoles.

At length, towards the beginning of January 1747, finding his army increased to sixty battalions and twenty two squadrons, and being seconded by the marquis de Mina, who furnished him with four or five thousand Spaniards, he looked upon himself as in a condition to attack the enemy. Count Brown, who commanded the Austrians, and the marquis of Ormea, who was at the head of a body of Piedmontese, were a great deal superior to him in forces. But they met with greater difficulties in procuring subsistence for their army. This is an essential point, which frustrates the end of most invasions. Their first defeat * began with a post in the neighbourhood of Castellane, from whence a captain of the regiment of Lyonnais, whose name was *Daupenet*, drove them with sword in hand. They occupied from Sener to St Tropes, the space of forty leagues. A considerable body was beaten and dislodged from Castellane † by the count de Maulevrier, and by the marquis de Taubin a Spaniard. Another corps were also dislodged, and obliged to repass the river of Argens. Marshal Belleisle, by his winning man-

* January 7. 1747.

† January 21.

ner, engaged the Spanish troops to second him in every attempt. The marquis de la Mina joined with him in all his schemes; and this perfect harmony contributed greatly to their common success. The enemy were pursued from post to post, and always with loss. At length the marshal obliged them to repass the Var, and delivered Provence.

There remained now ‡ only one difficult enterprise for the king; and this was, to relieve Genoa. During the whole war he had been occupied in protecting his allies; first the emperor Charles VII. afterwards the prince of Spain, Don Philip, then the pretender to the crown of England, and, finally, the Genoese; and, in the whole course of the war, fresh dangers arose from his successes.

Marshal Belleisle had now driven the Austrians and Piedmontese out of Provence; but there was reason to fear that this very enemy, who were strong enough to guard the passage of the Alps, had also sufficient strength to fall upon Genoa, and afterwards upon Naples. Though Genoa had expelled the enemy from her walls, yet she was still blocked up by sea and land. Count Schullemburg succeeded the marquis de Botta, and continually threatened the first inclosure. Admiral Medley took as much care as possible, that no succours should enter the harbour. Yet the king of France was continually supplying them. Marshal Belleisle began with sending them twenty thousand lewidores by eight officers, among whom this sum was equally distributed.

K k 2

‡ January 24. 1747.

tributed. He ordered them to throw the money into the sea, in case they should not be so lucky as to escape. The officers arrived with the money, provisions, and soldiers, and especially with great promises. With this encouragement, the Genoese withstood all the attacks of the Austrians, as well as the proposals of the court of Vienna ; for this court had still the assurance to treat with a people, whom so severe a treatment, and so glorious a revolution, must have rendered ever irreconcilable. The Austrians demanded money of them when they had none ; and, on the contrary, the king of France gave them money.

It was not enough for the French to have obliged the Austrians and the Piedmontese to pass the Var ; it was also incumbent upon them to pass that river in pursuit of the enemy, to drive them beyond the mountains, to enter Italy once more ; and, above all things, speedily to relieve Genoa. There was no sending any succours to that city but by sea ; and these were to steal unknown to the English fleet, which was cruising off that coast. At that time there were but eight ships at Toulon, and these laid up, three frigates, and two barks ; so that they were able to arm only six galleys, for want of seamen. In the mean time the Austrians, assisted by the Piedmontese, threatened to recover possession of Genoa. Count Schullemburg, nephew of the Venetian general, had reinforced his army with Albanians : these are the antient Epirots, who are esteemed to be as good soldiers as their ancestors. He had repassed the Bochetta, and

kept Genoa closely blockaded ; while the country, both to the right and left, was given up to the fury of the irregular troops, to plunder and devastation. Genoa was frightened ; and the consternation they were in produced some secret correspondence with their oppressors ; to complete their misery, there was a great division betwixt the senate and the people. The town did not want provisions, but money ; they were at the expence of eighteen thousand florins a-day, to maintain the militia who fought in the country, or defended the city. The republic had no regular troops, well disciplined, nor no experienced officer : they could expect no succours but by sea, and even these at the hazard of being picked up by the English fleet, as happened to those which had been sent to prince Edward. These succours were expected from France and Spain, and if they did not come soon, all was lost.

The king of France had already sent a million of livres to the senate. The galleys were now ordered to set out from Toulon and Marseilles with about six thousand men on board. They put into Corsica and Monaco, by distress of weather, but chiefly to avoid the English fleet. The master of a small vessel belonging to this convoy, who was a foreigner, took this opportunity to commit a treacherous action. He gave notice of this embarkation to the English admiral, who came and fell upon the convoy ; but they lost only six small vessels with about a thousand soldiers. At length the first succours reached Genoa, to the number of about
four

four thousand French, who revived the drooping hopes of the Genoese.

Soon after * arrived the duke of Boufflers, to take upon him the command of the troops that were to defend Genoa, and whose number daily increased. The general himself was obliged to take his passage in an open boat, in order to escape admiral Medley's fleet. If the English had been as diligent and artful, as they were magnanimous in their undertaking, they would have had a proper number of small craft, well armed, which would have kept near the shore when their great ships could not, and have rendered it extremely difficult for the French to send any succours. For want of some such precaution, detachments of French, Spaniards, and Swiss, were successively coming into Genoa from the coast of France; at the same time they were supplied with provisions from the coast of Italy, while the English were only bare spectators.

The duke of Boufflers was now at the head of about eight thousand regular troops, in a town which was blocked up, and expected every moment to be besieged. There was very little order among them, not much provisions, and no powder; besides, the heads of the people were not properly subordinate to the senate. The Austrians had still some secret intelligence in the town. Thus the duke of Boufflers had as much difficulty to deal with those whom he was come to defend, as with the enemy. Yet he established order in every quarter; at the same time provisions of all kinds were imported in plenty,

* Last of April.

by means of a secret consideration given to the captains of the English ships; so greatly do public calamities depend on private interest.

The Austrians had some monks on their side; the same arms were employed against them with greater force. The priests were prevailed upon to refuse absolution to those who should balance a moment between the enemy and their country. An hermit put himself at the head of the militia, whom he encouraged by his enthusiastic declamation, and by his example in fighting; he was killed in one of those daily skirmishes, and, with his last breath, exhorted the Genoese to defend their country. The ladies pawned their jewels to supply the expences of the necessary operations.

But of all these encouragements, the most powerful was the valour of the French troops, whom the duke of Boufflers often employed in attacking the enemy in their posts beyond the double inclosure of Genoa. There were a great many more, the possession of which would have rendered the operations of the siege much easier to the enemy: one, among the rest, on the coast of Rivarola, of which the Austrians and Piedmontese made themselves masters *, very near the mountain of the Two Brothers, and from whence they were, by all means, to be dislodged. This action, conducted with as much prudence as vigour, revived all their hopes. The Count de Lanion distinguished himself on this occasion, as also the chevalier de Chauvelin †, who was wounded in the engagement. Here the
French

* May 21. 1747.

† June 13.

French lost colonel la Faye, son of the captain of the guards, whose character is so well known in Paris. This young officer had inherited from his father a very high degree of courage, with great application to the sciences, and from his uncle he had learned to improve in the most agreeable parts of polite literature. The author of this narrative, who knew his merit, cannot too much lament his loss.

The Genoese succeeded in almost every one of those little skirmishes which, at that time, ingrossed their whole attention, and are afterwards swallowed up in the multitude of more important events. But what disconcerted all the measures of the Austrians in Italy, was the progress marshal Belleisle was making with his army. He had obliged the enemy to raise the siege of Antibes, while his brother retook the isles of St Margaret within sight of the English fleet: he was master of Nice, Villafranca, and Ventimiglia; and the king of Sardinia was obliged to recall his troops to defend his own dominions. The Austrians, being obliged to make a stand against Belleisle's army, could not besiege Genoa in form, lest the French should advance; so that the court of Vienna, at length, gave orders for raising the blockade.

The duke of Boufflers did not long enjoy this happiness and glory. He died of the small pox the very day the enemy retired. He was son of marshal Boufflers, a general much esteemed under Lewis XIV. a man of honour, and a good subject. The son inherited the amiable qualities of his father.

T H E E N D.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
W A R of 1741.

P A R T III.

C H A P. I.

The conquests of Lewis XV.

AFTER the battle of Fontenoy, the French troops acquired a superiority over the English, and the rest of the allies, which they reserved the remainder of the war. A few companies of French soldiers happen to be surprised by a body of six thousand English on the causeway of Gaunt, in the neighbourhood of an abbay called Mele *. They make a stand, and are soon reinforced by some of their comrades; upon which they put the enemy to flight. Forty Frenchmen oblige three hundred Hanoverians to lay down their arms. Gaunt is taken

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without

* July 9. 1745.

without any resistance. Ostend, which had formerly maintained a siege for three years, now holds out but three days. Brussels is besieged and taken in the middle of winter †. The Turennes and the Condes never made more glorious campaigns.

Marshal Saxe obliges the Austrians to retreat the Meuse and the Maese; and the prince of Clermont takes Namur *. They appear again in the neighbourhood of Liege ‡; the marshal marches that way, and defeats them in a pitched battle. All Dutch Brabant is subdued by Lewis XV. The Dutch, in a great consternation, chuse a stadtholder, as the Romans used to create a dictator in times of great danger; but not with the same success. The king, at the head of his army, led on by marshal Saxe, obtains another victory over the duke of Comberland at Lawfelt, in the neighbourhood of Maestricht ††. Bergenopzoom, a town esteemed impregnable, defended by its situation, by a numerous garison, and by an army incamped at its very gates, is taken by storm, when the breach was hardly practicable §. This is the only town that the French entered sword in hand since Valenciennes was stormed by the musketeers and the French guards in 1677, and it is the only one that was plundered. The conquerors found in the harbour seventeen large boats laden with provisions, with the following directions in large capitals on each, *To the invincible garison of Bergenopzoom*. This success was owing to the intro-

† Feb. 1746.

* Sept. 1746.

‡ Oct. 11. 1746.

†† July 2. 1747.

§ Sept. 11. 1747.

rapidity of marshal Lowendahl, a Dane, who commanded the siege. Thus it was, that two foreigners, marshal Saxe and he, maintained the reputation of France in the Netherlands, and compensated the losses which she sustained in other parts.

Marshal Saxe concluded his campaigns, and arrived at the highest pitch of glory, by one of the most judicious marches that had been seen for a long time. Having determined, at length, to lay siege to Maestricht, he wanted to deceive the enemy: with this view, he orders different divisions of troops to file off, some towards Luxembourg, and others towards Breda; one division marches to Tongres, another to Tirlemont; and no body can tell where all these troops are to unite. The enemy, not knowing which post to defend, leave him master of the Meuse. He invests Maestricht within view of an army of fourscore thousand men*, who are no longer able to oppose his measures. This was his last lesson of the military art; and these successes paved the way for a peace, of which all Europe stood greatly in need.

Marshal Saxe was son of Augustus II. king of Poland, and madame de Konigsmark. He served in France at the age of seventeen. He had been long considered as a man of pleasure; for no body had heard, that, even in the midst of his diversions, he constantly applied himself to the study of the military art; he was a great man before his merit was known.

* April 1748.

C H A P. II.

Of Prince Charles Edward.

DURING this war, Great Britain was very near experiencing such a revolution as that of the White and Red Roses. Prince Charles Edward, whose grandfather by the father's side was the unfortunate king of England, James II. and by the mother's, John Sobiesky, the great king of Poland, attempting to ascend the throne of Great Britain, set out upon an expedition, the like of which is scarce to be met with, except in the English, or in fabulous history. He embarks the 12th (a) of June 1745, on board a small frigate of eighteen guns, without acquainting the court of France with his intention, and having no other preparations with him to conquer three kingdoms, than seven officers, eighteen hundred sabres, twelve hundred fusils, twelve thousand luidores, which he had borrowed (b); and not one private soldier.

He braves all sorts of dangers, and lands, at length, in the south-west (c) of Scotland. Some of the inhabitants of Moydart, to whom he made himself known, fling themselves at his feet.

(a) It should be the 21st, though he did not actually leave France till the 5th of July.

(b) He is said to have been furnished with the frigate, arms and money, by one Mr Walsh, an Irish merchant at St Malo.

(c) It was the north-west coast where he landed, about the 28th of July.

"But what can we do?" said they, "we have no arms; we are poor and helpless, living upon oaten bread, and inhabiting a barren spot." The prince made answer, "I'll cultivate this spot along with you; I'll eat of this bread; I'll take share of your poverty with you; and here I bring you arms."

Affected and encouraged by this speech, the inhabitants rose in his favour. The neighbouring clans joined them: and a piece of taffeta, which he brought with him from France, served for his royal standard. As soon as he saw himself at the head of fifteen hundred men, he marched to the town of Perth, of which he took possession (*d*), and was proclaimed regent of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, in the name of his father James III. This title, of regent of France, assumed by a prince who was scarce master of one little town in Scotland, and who could not maintain his ground without the assistance of the king of France, was a consequence of the custom by which the kings of England take the title of kings of France; a custom which ought to be abolished.

Soon after, a few Scotch lords come and join him. He enters Edinburgh, and is proclaimed regent. In England, the privy council put a price upon his head; offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds Sterling to whosoever shall deliver him up, dead or alive (*e*). He answers their procla-

(*d*) Sep. 3. 1745. O. S.

(*e*) The case is misrepresented. The reward was offered to such as would seize and secure him, in order to his being brought to

proclamation by a complete victory, which he (f) obtains with his fifteen hundred highlanders at Prestonpans, over an English army, and makes as many prisoners as he had soldiers. These highlanders were the only people in Europe that had preserved the antient military dress of the Romans, with the target: besides this dress, they had the courage of the antient Romans; they only wanted their discipline. Upon this event, the kings of France and Spain sent some supplies of money to prince Edward; they wrote to him, and gave him the title of brother: between two and three hundred men of the royal regiment of Scotch were sent over to him from France, with some piquets, and, after escaping through the midst of the English fleet, they landed in Scotland.

The young prince carries all before him as far as Carlisle (g), and advances within thirty leagues of London, at the head of about eight thousand men (h). A different English general from him who

was

to justice. The proclamation was dated Aug. 6. On the 21st the young pretender issued a counter-proclamation, offering the like reward of l. 30,000. for apprehending King George, designed in the proclamation, *Elector of Hanover*.

(f) Sept. 21. 1745. The King's army, consisting of about 2100 men, was commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir John Cope; and the rebels were double that number. Near 500 dragoons escaped.

(g) Carlisle surrendered to the young chevalier, Nov. 15. 1745.

(h) He proceeded into England, as far as Derby, which is within 100 miles of London; where, being informed that the Duke of Cumberland was marching against him, he made a precipitate retreat back into Scotland. He arrived at Glasgow Dec. 26.

was beat at Prestonpans⁽ⁱ⁾, advances towards Scotland. Prince Edward marches against him in the depth of winter^(k); he meets him at Falkirk, upon the road to Edinburgh, gains a second victory, and, the next day, he obtains a third over those very troops which he had defeated the day before ^(l).

Now was the time to complete the revolution: there was a strong party in London that inclined to join him. The confusion and consternation in that capital were very great. The duke of Richelieu was upon the coast of France, ready to carry over ten thousand men to his assistance: but France having no men of war at that time, the enterprise miscarried, and the whole fruit of Edward's struggles and victories was

was

(i) Lieutenant-General Henry Hawley.

(k) Jan. 17. 1746. The rebel-army had lain about Stirling from the beginning of January, and had laid siege to the castle, commanded by Lieutenant-General Blakeney. General Hawley's army, consisting of twelve battalions of foot, two regiments of dragoons, and the Glasgow militia, began to march from Edinburgh on the 13th. Having assembled near Falkirk on the 17th, they came to an action with the rebels about half an hour after three in the afternoon. The dragoons misbehaved, retreated, and fell in among the infantry, who were discomposed by the wind and rain beating in their faces, wetting their powder, and disturbing their eye-sight, so that few of their pieces would fire. The King's army had about 300 men killed and wounded, and retired in good order to Falkirk; from whence they proceeded to Linlithgow, and came to Edinburgh on the 18th.

(l) The insuccess of the royal army was intirely owing to the timidity of the dragoons, and the stormy weather. Tho' the rebels had the advantage, yet two battalions beat them off, and effected a retreat for the whole army. A few days after they met before this supposed beaten army, when commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. The two victories here mentioned by Voltaire, are a mere chimera.

was lost. The duke of Cumberland, at the head of a well-disciplined army, well armed and provided with cannon, at length defeated those Scotch highlanders, who wanted every thing but courage. Prince Edward received a total overthrow at the battle of Culloden, within a few leagues of Inverness (m), and his whole army was dispersed. He met afterwards with the same adventures as those which Charles II. went through after his defeat at Worcester, wandering, like him, from place to place, destitute of all succour; sometimes attended by two partners of his misfortunes, sometimes by one only, and, at other times, intirely by himself; shifting from cavern to cavern, sculking in forests, flying to desert islands, distressed for want of food and raiment, and closely pursued by those who thirsted after his blood for the sake of the reward. One day, having walked thirty miles, and being just ready to faint with hunger, he ventured to step into the house of a person, whom he knew to be of the opposite party (n): "The son of your king," said he, "is come to ask a bit of bread of you, and something to cover him. I know you are my enemy; but I believe you have so much honour as not to abuse my confidence, or to take advantage of my misfortune: take these rags of mine, and keep them; you may bring them to me some day."

(m) April 16. 1746.

(n) These particulars were written in 1748, and dictated by a person who had attended prince Edward a long time, both in his prosperity and in his misfortunes. *Voltaire.*

"day or other, to the palace of the kings of Great Britain." The gentleman was moved, as might naturally be expected, with the speech, and he relieved him as much as his poverty would permit in that wild country; but never disclosed the secret.

While this prince was wandering through deserts, to elude the pursuit of his enemies, by a flight which greatly adds to his glory; they were erecting scaffolds and gibbets all over England and Scotland (o) for his adherents, near eight hundred (p) of whom perished at different times by the hands of the executioner.

They began on the 17th of August with executing seventeen officers (q), who were drawn on a sledge to the gallows, and there hanged and quartered. This punishment is a remains of ancient ferocity. Formerly they used to pluck out the hearts of the criminals before the breath was out of their bodies. They have still kept up this ceremony after they are dead, thinking to frighten the multitude; but they are mistaken. The lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Derwentwater, and Lovat (r), were beheaded. When

M m

Kilmarnock

(o) All the executions were in England.

(p) The whole number executed, besides those who died in prison, after receiving sentence of death, was only 77: so that Voltaire's information has been very bad.

(q) Nine were executed on Kennington Common, July 30. 1746, being the first who suffered on account of the rebellion. They were all Englishmen. Three more, Scots, were executed there August 22.

(r) Kilmarnock and Balmerino were beheaded August 12. 1746, Derwentwater Dec. 8. 1746, and Lovat April 9. 1747.

Kilmarnock mounted the scaffold, conforming to the usage of those who repent of what they have done, he cried out, *Long live king George*. But Balmerino said, *Long live king James, and his worthy son*.

Derwentwater was a younger brother of another lord Derwentwater executed in 1715, for having unhappily engaged in the same cause. The elder lord Derwentwater made his son, as yet an infant, mount the scaffold along with him, saying, *I would have you bedewed with my blood, and learn to die for your king*.

It was the fate of this family to die heroically by the hands of the executioner. The younger lord Derwentwater had also a son, but who was born in France: "I die like my brother," said he; "I exhort my son to die also for the same cause, should there be occasion; and I recommend him to the king of France." Accordingly Lewis XV. has taken care of him, and granted a pension to him and his sister.

Lord Lovat, who was then fourscore years old, pronounced the following verse before he received the fatal blow,

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.

But what is very odd, and unprecedented, perhaps, in any country except England, a young student, whose name was Painter, strongly attached to the Jacobite party, and intoxicated with that spirit of political fanaticism which operates such marvels, made strong and repeated applications to be admitted to die in lord Lovat's stead.

Prince

Prince Edward, after having roved about a long while on the coast of Lochaber, at length escaped the pursuit of his enemies. He got on board a little vessel, which landed him safe on the coast of Britany (s). From thence he set out for Paris, where he remained till the treaty of Aix la Chapelle (r), whereby the king of France was obliged to deprive him of this asylum for the general good. This unfortunate prince underwent a more sensible mortification at Paris than he had received in Scotland after the battle of Culloden. He insisted on continuing in France notwithstanding the treaty, and notwithstanding the most pressing instances from the king: it was therefore judged necessary to seize and bind his person; in which condition he was carried to Vincennes, and afterwards turned out of the kingdom. This compleated the disgraces of the unfortunate house of Stuart. Charles Edward, from that instant, has hid himself from all the world.

If private people, who think themselves unhappy, did but cast their eyes on this prince and his ancestors! —

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C H A P.

(s) The young pretender got on board the *Bellona*, a large privateer of St Malo, Sep. 20. 1746, and landed at Roscou, a port near three miles west of Morlaix, on the 29th.

A particular account of the pretender's expedition, written on another hand, is annexed in the appendix to this edition.

(r) October 7. 1748.

C H A P. III.

Admiral Anson's voyage round the world.

Neither France nor Spain can be at war with England, but the shock they give to Europe must be felt at the remotest extremity of the globe. If the industry and boldness of our modern nations have in any respect the advantage over the rest of the world, and over all antiquity, it is certainly in our naval expeditions. Perhaps we are not so much struck as we ought at the sight of fleets, one single ship of which would have destroyed the whole navy of the old Greeks and Romans, fitted out from a few small maritime provinces, unknown to the ancient civilized nations. On one side these fleets sail beyond the Ganges to engage each other within sight of the most potent empires, that sit quiet spectators of a skilful fury which the inhabitants of those parts have not yet attained: on the other they navigate beyond America to dispute about slaves in the new world.

These enterprises are seldom attended with proportionable success: the reason is, the various difficulties attending them cannot possibly be foreseen, and the means are generally unequal to the end.

Admiral Anson's expedition is a proof of what a man of sense and resolution may do, notwithstanding the weakness of the preparations, and the greatness of the dangers.

Before

Before so many nations took up arms to decide the important cause, whether the daughter of the emperor Charles VI. should succeed to her paternal inheritance, Spain had already engaged in a maritime war against the English, about a single ship; and this war cost on both sides a thousand times more than what they contended for was worth. The English ministry had sent admiral Vernon towards Mexico so early as the year 1739: he destroyed Porto Bello, and miscarried at Carthagena. At the same time admiral Anson was appointed upon an expedition against Peru in the South Seas, in order to ruin, if possible, or, at least, to weaken, at both extremities, the vast empire which Spain has conquered in that part of the world. Anson was appointed commodore of a squadron, consisting of five ships of war, a sloop of eight guns and about a hundred men, and two victuallers laden with provisions and merchandise, in order to trade with the inhabitants of New Spain, by means of this expedition; for the English have a peculiar art of intermixing commerce with war. There were fourteen hundred men on board this squadron; but all the soldiers they had were about two hundred and sixty invalids, and two hundred marines. He steers his course by the island of Madera, which belongs to the crown of Portugal: from thence he advances to the isles of Cape Verd, and keeps close to the coast of Brazil: he refreshed his fleet at St Catharine's, an island covered with perpetual verdure and fruit; and, after having coasted along the cold and uncultivated country of Patagonia, the com-
modore

modore entered the streights of le Maire towards the end of February 1741, which is a navigation of above a hundred degrees of latitude performed in less than five months. The Tryal, a sloop of eight guns, was the first ship of that kind that ever ventured to double Cape Horn: when she came into the South Sea, she took a Spanish vessel of six hundred tons, whose crew could not conceive how they should come to be taken by an English vessel in the Pacific ocean.

But in doubling cape Horn, after having passed the streights of le Maire, Anson's squadron meets with a terrible storm, and are dispersed. A frightful scurvy destroys one half of their crew. The commodore's ship puts in by itself to the desert island of Juan Fernandes in the South Sea, returning towards the tropic of Capricorn. A rational reader, who with horror beholds the prodigious pains which men take to render themselves and their fellow-creatures unhappy, will perhaps be pleased to hear, that commodore Anson, perceiving the climate of this desert island extremely mild, and the soil most fruitful, sowed some pulse and fruit, having brought seed and kernels with him, which soon covered the whole island. Some Spaniards, who put ashore there a few years afterwards, having been taken prisoners by the English, and carried into England, judged that none but commodore Anson could have been so generous as to have this attention to repair the mischief done by war; and they thanked him as their benefactor. May I be permitted to soften, by these little circumstances, the

the gloominess of a history, which is only one continued tale of murders and human miseries?

Anson, who was on board a sixty gun ship, having been joined by another of his men of war, and by this little sloop called the Tryal, made some considerable captures, as he was cruising off the island of Fernandes; but having soon after advanced towards the equinoctial line, he ventured to attack the town of Paita, on this very same coast of America. He made use neither of his ships of war, nor of his whole force, to strike this bold blow. The expedition was undertaken by fifty soldiers in an open boat, who landed in the night: the sudden surprise and confusion added to the enemy's fears, and made them apprehend the danger greater than it really was. The governor, the garison, and the inhabitants, saved themselves by flight. In the mean while fifty Englishmen carry off, unmolested, during the space of three days, the treasure of which they had plundered the town. A number of negro slaves who staid behind, a kind of animals that belong to the first that seizes them, help to carry off the property of their old masters. Anson, having set the town of Paita on fire *, departed from thence, after stripping the Spaniards with as much ease as they had heretofore stripped the Americans. The loss to Spain was above fifteen hundred thousand piastres by the fire; the profit to the English was about a hundred and fourscore thousand, which, together with their former prizes, by this time had enriched the Squadron. Besides, as so great a number had died of the scour-

vy,

* Nov. 1741.

vy, the more remained to the survivors. This little Squadron sails from thence as high as Panama, towards the coast famous for the pearl fishery, and comes before Acapulco, to the back of Mexico. The court of Madrid were not sensible, at that time, of the danger they were in of losing this part of the world. If admiral Vernon had succeeded in his attempt upon Carthagena on the opposite shore, he might have forwarded the operations of commodore Anson. The isthmus of Panama would have been taken, both to the right and left, by the English, and the center of the Spanish dominions lost.

Anson, now commander of two ships only, the rest having been destroyed by storms, reduced the whole hopes of this great expedition to the taking of a large galeon, which Mexico sends every year to Manila in the sea of China, one of the Philippine islands, so called because they were discovered in the reign of Philip II.

This galeon, being laden with money, would not set sail so long as the English appeared on the coast, nor till some time after they were gone. The commodore therefore crosses the Pacific ocean, and the several climates opposite to Africa, between our tropic and the equator. The thirst of gold, grown honourable by the immense fatigue and danger of the adventurers, determines Anson to cross the globe with the two only remaining ships of his fleet. The scurvy still pursues his people on those seas; and one of the two ships proving leaky, he is obliged to set her on fire in the middle of the ocean, lest her wreck should be thrown on some of the Span-

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nish islands, and prove of service to the enemy. The crew belonging to that ship are taken on board the commodore. Of his whole Squadron Anson has, at length, only the *Centurion* left, a sixty gun ship, with two pinnaces. The *Centurion*, after passing through such a multitude of dangers, is in a crazy condition, and the crew all sickly. In this condition the commodore has the good fortune to touch at one of the Marian islands, called *Tinian*, at that time almost intirely deserted. It had been peopled not long before with thirty thousand inhabitants, most of whom perished of an epidemic disorder, and the remainder were removed to another island by the Spaniards. The landing of Anson's men at *Tinian*, and their stay thereon, preserved their lives. This island was more fruitful than that of *Fernandes*, having plenty of wood, of fresh water, cattle, fruit, and vegetables, in short, of all the conveniencies of life, and the necessaries for refitting his ship. What was most extraordinary, they found a kind of tree, the fruit of which tastes like very good bread; a real treasure, which, if it were possible to transplant into our climates, would be far preferable to those ideal riches, in the pursuit whereof we brave so many dangers, even to the furthest extremity of the earth.

From this island he proceeds to that of *Formosa*; thence he sails with a fair wind towards *China*, to *Macao*, at the mouth of the river *Canton*, to repair the damages the *Centurion* had suffered in her passage.

The commodore having refitted his vessel at
N a Macao,

Macao, with the help of the Chinese, and having taken some Indian and Dutch sailors on board, that seemed to him to be good hands, he puts to sea again.

At length, the 10th of June 1743, the long wished for galeon appears in view, steering its course towards Manila. It mounted sixty four guns, and had on board five hundred and fifty men. The cargo consisted of only about fifteen hundred thousand piastres in silver, with cochineal and other goods: the whole treasure, which is generally double, had been divided, and the other moiety put on board another galeon.

The commodore had only two hundred and forty men on board the *Centurion*. The captain of the galeon, espying the enemy, chose rather to risk the treasure than to lose his glory by running away from an Englishman, and therefore crowded all his sail to come up and engage him.

The thirst of plunder in the English being stronger than the sense of duty in the Spaniards, this circumstance, together with the experience of the British sailors, and the skillful conduct of the commodore, rendered him victorious. He had only two men slain in the engagement; the Spaniards had sixty seven men killed upon deck, and eighty four wounded. There was still a superiority of numbers on their side; and yet they surrendered. The victor returned to Canton with his rich prize. There he maintained the honour of his nation by refusing to pay the emperor of China the duties imposed on all foreign shipping. He

plea was, that the king's ships were not obliged to pay any such impost : and by his steady conduct he carried his point. The governor of Canton granted him an audience, to which he was introduced through the midst of ten thousand soldiers drawn up in two rows; after which he returned to his country by the Sunda islands, and the cape of Good Hope. Having thus sailed victoriously round the world, he came back to England the 4th of June 1744, after a voyage of three years and a half.

The immense riches he had taken in this long expedition, were carried in triumph to London in thirty two waggons, accompanied by the sound of drums and trumpets, and the acclamation of the multitude. His different captures in gold and silver amounted to ten millions of livres, which were shared among the officers, soldiers, and common sailors; the king coming in for no part of the fruit of their fatigues and valour. These riches quickly circulating in the nation, enabled them to support the immense expences of the war.

C H A P. IV.

Of Louisburg or Cape Breton, and the immense captures made by the English.

ANother enterprize of a later date than that of admiral Anson, shews plainly what a commercial and military nation is capable of effecting: I mean to speak of the siege of Louisburg. This was not an expedition projected by the court of London, but an enterprize boldly concerted by the merchants of New England. A private trader, named Vaughan, proposes to his countrymen of New England to levy troops in order to lay siege to Louisburg. The proposal is generally applauded. They raise money by lottery to maintain a small army of four thousand men. The troops are armed, provisions are found, transports are got ready, and all this at the expence of the inhabitants. They name a general; but the approbation of the government of England is requisite, and they want some men of war. They had only to ask, and their request was granted. The court sends admiral Warren, with four ships of war, to support this enterprize of the people.

Louisburg is taken after a stout resistance of fifty days*. This was not all. A fatality of an extraordinary nature contributes further to enrich the new possessors of this island. Several French and Spanish ships, with very rich cargoes, suddenly arrive, some from the East In-

* 1746.

dies, others from Peru and Mexico, and cast anchor in this harbour, not knowing that the place had been taken. Thus they fall into the mouth of the enemy. If war is a game of hazard, as often hath been said, the English, in one year, won about a hundred millions of livres at this game. They had, at one and the same time, a fleet in the Scotch and Irish seas, another at Spithead, another in the East-Indies, another towards Jamaica, another at Antigua, and were fitting out others occasionally.

France was obliged to act upon the defensive all this war; to contend with this formidable power, she had only five and thirty ships of force, and those hardly in a condition to keep the seas.

One of the chief advantages obtained by the English at sea, was the victory off cape Finisterre, in which they took six large sail of the king's ships, and seven of the East-India company's ships, fitted out for men of war, four of which struck in the action, and three afterwards, having on board, in the whole, four thousand men.

London is a city crouded with merchants and seafaring people, who pay much greater attention to naval operations than to what passes in Germany and Flanders. The inhabitants were seized with transports of joy, upon seeing the same ship, the Centurion, so famous for its voyage round the world, come up the Thames with the tidings of a victory obtained off cape Finisterre *, by that very Anson deservedly made vice-

* May 16. 1747.

vice-admiral, and by admiral Warren. Two and twenty waggons, loaded with the gold and silver, and effects taken on board the French fleet, made a triumphant procession through London. The loss to the French was estimated at above twenty millions of livres. The silver taken on board those prizes was carried to the mint, where they converted it into specie, the legend of which was "Finisterre." Such a monument flattered the English nation, and increased the emulation of their seamen. It was a glorious imitation of the custom of the antient Romans, who engraved the events of their empire not only on the current coin, but on medals. This victory was more fortunate and advantageous than surprising. The admirals Anson and Warren had seventeen ships of war, and the French but six, the best of which was not equal, in regard to construction, to the smallest vessel belonging to the English.

But what is very surprising, the marquis de la Jonquiere, who commanded the French Squadron, maintained the engagement a long time, and gave the Martinico fleet, which he had under his convoy, an opportunity to make their escape. The captain of the Windsor expressed himself in these terms in his letter after the battle ; " I never saw better behaviour than that of " the French commodore on this occasion ; and, " indeed, to speak the truth, all the officers of " this nation have behaved as gallant men ; not " one of them surrendered till it was impossible to work the ship any longer."

The French had now only seven men of war left,

left, to escort their merchant ships to the American islands, under the command of Mr de l'Estandue. They were met at sea by a fleet of fourteen English sail. They fought as they did at Finisterre, with the same courage and the same fortune: superior numbers prevailed; and admiral Hawke carried six, out of the seven ships which he had engaged, into the Thames. The whole marine of the king of France was thus reduced to one single ship. The nation then was perfectly convinced of the mistake of cardinal Fleury in neglecting the navy; but this mistake has been since abundantly repaired.

C H A P. V.

The French take Madras, and oblige the English to raise the siege of Pondicherry.

WHILE the English were extending their victorious arms over so many seas, and the whole globe was become the theatre of war, at length they felt the effect thereof themselves in their colony of Madras. A man well versed both in mercantile and military affairs, and whose name was Bourdonaye, avenged the honour of the French flag at the further extremity of Asia. Madras, or fort St George, on the coast of Coromandel, is to England the same as Pondicherry is to France. These two rival towns are only seven or eight leagues distant from each other; and so great is the trade in that part of the world, and so superior the European

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an to Asiatic industry, that these two colonies may enrich themselves without mutual prejudice. M. du Pleix, governor of Pondicherry, and commander of the French forces in those parts, had proposed a neutrality to the English East-India company. Nothing could be more suitable to commercial people: humanity and reason made the offer: pride and avarice refused it. The English flattered themselves, not without probability, that they should easily ride triumphant on the Indian seas as well as on every other part of the ocean, and be able to destroy the French company.

M. de la Bourdonaye was, like the du Quenes, the Barts, and the du Gue'-Trouins, a man qualified for doing great things with a small force, and, moreover, a man who understood commerce as well as fighting. He was governor of the isles of Bourbon and Maurice, by the king's nomination, and the company's agent. These islands had been in a flourishing condition during his administration. At length he sets sail from the isle of Bourbon with nine ships, fitted out for men of war by himself, on board of which he had embarked two thousand three hundred whites, and eight hundred blacks, whom he had instructed in the military discipline, and made good gunners. An English squadron, under commodore Barnet, was cruising in those seas to protect Madrafs, at the same time that it annoyed Pondicherry, and took a great many prizes. This squadron he attacked and dispersed; and immediately he prepared to lay siege to Madrafs *.

* July 6 1746.

Deputies were sent to let him know, that he was not allowed to commit hostilities on the territories of the Grand Mogul. They said right. It is the highest pitch of Asiatic weakness to suffer it, and of European boldness to attempt it. The French land their men without any resistance: they plant their cannon before the walls of a town very ill fortified, and defended only by a garison of five hundred men. The English settlement consisted of fort St George, where were all the magazines; of the White Town, inhabited by Europeans only; and of the Black Town, peopled by merchants and artificers of all the Indian nations, Jews, Bani-ans, Mahometans, idolaters, negroes of different kinds, red Indians, and Mulattoes: all this multitude amounted to fifty thousand souls.

The governor was soon obliged to capitulate. The ransom of the town was valued at a million and a hundred thousand pagods, which is about nine millions of livres *. Never did private subject do more important service to his country. An unfortunate misunderstanding between him and the council of Pondicherry, deprived France of the fruit of his labour. This man, whose name ought to be for ever dear to the French nation, was treated at Paris like a criminal. His enemies caused him to be sent to the Bastile, where he lay three years and a half; but, at length, the commissaries appointed by the king, with one unanimous voice, pronounced him innocent. France gave him another title; she called him her avenger. The decree

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* Sept. 10. 1746.

by which he was acquitted, met with as loud acclamations at Paris, as the taking of the French prizes had done at London. The commissaries only restored him to his liberty, but the nation, in raptures, gave him his reward. These particulars are more deserving of the attention of posterity, than the military operations of many generals.

He was not the only man, not bred a soldier, that rendered important services to his country in a military capacity. M. du Pleix saved Pondicherry, which the English besieged with a force not unlikely to destroy that important settlement.

This town was peopled much in the same manner as Madras, and better fortified. It had four hundred and fifty pieces of cannon mounted on its ramparts, very good officers to defend it, excellent engineers, a strong garison of about fifteen hundred French regulars, and two thousand Asiatics, well disciplined and well-affected. Pondicherry had been in a flourishing state ever since the year 1725. By the balance of 1743, the company found themselves possessed of effects to the amount of a hundred and sixty millions of livres. The taking of Pondicherry would have been such a wound to France as the industry and pains of twenty years would not have healed.

Admiral Boscawen came and laid siege to it with about four thousand English or Dutch soldiers, and as many Indians, supported by the greatest part of the sailors on board his fleet which consisted of one and twenty sail. The

French

French did not confine themselves within their walls; they made several vigorous sallies, and obliged the enemy, after a siege of fifty days, to retire. From that day the governor of Pondicherry, who was still master of Madras, became protector of the viceroys on the coast of Coromandel; and he himself was honoured with the title of viceroy by the emperor of the Indies. His master gave him a cross of St Lewis, an honour which had never been done before in France, to a person that did not belong to the military service; yet an honour far short of his merit, who had rendered the French name so respectable in the Indies.

C H A P. VI.

Of Italy; of the revolution of Genoa; and of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

THIS war, for the succession of Austria, was like a distemper, whose symptoms change by length of time. In the beginning of the year 1741, one would have thought that the queen of Hungary would have lost all her dominions: and in 1746 the house of Bourbon was upon the point of being stripped of Naples and Sicily, which belonged to Don Carlos, and of the duchy of Parma, the inheritance of his brother Don Philip. These two princes were sons of Philip V. king of Spain, and great grandsons of Lewis XIV. both settled in Italy by the happy consequences of the efforts made by

Lewis XIV. to preserve the crown of Spain upon the head of Philip V.

The duke of Savoy, king of Sardinia, had joined the new house of Austria, and the English, against Lewis XV. after having been in alliance with that prince in the war of 1733, just as his father had alternately fought for and against Lewis XIV. and the same efforts were used to establish foreign nations in Italy, as has been constantly practised ever since the decline of the Roman empire.

Rome beheld, more than once, armies of Germans, Spaniards, and Neapolitans upon her territory. The king of Sardinia and the Austrians were victorious in 1746, from the frontiers of Naples to those of France. The French and Spaniards lost very fine armies notwithstanding the glorious campaigns which the prince of Conti had made in the Alps. But, amidst these disasters, the most extraordinary thing that happened was the revolution of Genoa: every thing else fell out according to the usual course of human affairs; here we have an unprecedented event.

The republic of Genoa had put herself under the protection of France in this almost general war. Genoa is not a city like Milan, obliged to deliver her keys to whoever approaches her with an army. Besides her walls, she has another inclosure of above two leagues in extent, consisting of a chain of rocks. Beyond this double inclosure she is fortified by the Apennine mountains. The passage of the Bochetta, through which the enemy advanced, had been always looked upon

as impregnable : yet the troops that guarded this post made no resistance, but went and joined the French and Spanish army, who were retiring by Ventimiglia. The Genoese were in such consternation, that they did not even attempt to defend themselves. Though they had cannon upon their ramparts, and the enemy had none, they would not wait till the enemy's heavy artillery arrived, but were seized with such a panic as to run headlong into all the extremities they so greatly dreaded. The senate immediately deputed four of their body into the defiles of the mountains, where the Austrians were incamped, to receive of the marquis de Botta d'Adorno, a Milanese, and general of the empress queen, such laws as he should please to prescribe. They submitted to surrender Genoa in four and twenty hours, and to deliver up all the French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans in the town, with the effects belonging to the subjects of France, Spain, and Naples. It was expressly stipulated, that four senators should go as hostages to Milan ; that the Doge, and six senators more, should repair to Vienna, in the space of a month, to ask pardon for past offences ; and that they should pay, forthwith, fifty thousand genovines, which make about four hundred thousand livres, besides what contributions the conquerors should further please to impose.

The Austrians, remembering that Lewis XIV. had insisted on the Doge of Genoa's coming to beg pardon at Versailles along with four senators, added two more for the empress queen. But this princess gloried in refusing what Lewis XIV. had

had made a point of: sensible that there is little honour in humbling the weak, she thought only of exacting very heavy contributions off Genoa, of which she had more need than of the vain pageantry of seeing the Doge at the foot of the imperial throne.

Genoa was taxed at four and twenty millions of livres; this was ruining her intirely. Little did this republic expect, when the war broke out for the succession of the house of Austria, that she was to be the victim of that quarrel; but when the great powers of Europe go to war, every petty state has reason to tremble.

The republic had already paid sixteen millions; the remainder was demanded without the least abatement, and, in the mean time, the Austrian troops were quartered at discretion upon the conquered Genoese. At length this very people, who had went half way to meet their conquerors; who had surrendered at discretion when they had defenders still left; who had patiently suffered themselves to be stripped of all they had; this very people, I say, resumed their courage when there was no longer any hope or resource.

The Austrians were removing the cannon of the town to carry them to Provence, into which country the armies of the empress-queen and the king of Sardinia had penetrated. The Genoese themselves were compelled to drag the cannon of which they were going to be stripped. An Austrian officer happens to strike a common fellow with his cane, for being negligent in the service; immediately the mob rises

and

and fall upon their conquerors in the streets, and in the public squares, with whatever they can lay hold of †. They run to the arsenal, while the wavering senate dare not openly encourage the attempt. The people arm themselves regularly, and, rendered soldiers by despair, they drive the Austrian guards from the gates. Upon this they chuse their own chiefs; while the consternation, which had so long possessed the Genoese, is communicated to their new masters. The neighbouring peasants, animated by the example of the citizens, rise up to the number of about fifteen or sixteen thousand; Prince Doria, a descendent of him to whom Genoa more than once owed her preservation, attacks general Botta in S. Pietro d'Arena. The Austrians betake themselves to flight, leaving a thousand dead upon the spot, and about three thousand prisoners: they abandon their magazines and baggage, repass the Bochetta, and quit the territory of Genoa.

This surprising revolution contributed greatly to deliver Provence from the Austrian and Piedmontese armies, who ravaged the country, and threatened Marseilles. By this accident the provisions, which this victorious army depended upon drawing from Genoa, were withheld. Marshal Bellisle, celebrated for his retreat from Prague to Egra in 1742, during the disasters of the emperor Charles VII. and of the French in Bohemia, had time to come up with an army, which obliged the enemy to retire precipitately from Provence, and to repass the Var ‡.

These

† Dec. 6 &c. 1746.

‡ Jan. 1747.

These same enemies, thus driven out of Provence, fell back upon Genoa; so that the republic seemed to be once more in danger of losing that liberty which she had so amazingly recovered.

The city of Genoa was blockaded; and an English fleet lay before her port. Divisions broke out betwixt the senate and the people, which might be more dangerous still than the enemy. The republic wanted money to pay the few regular troops which she had raised in a hurry.

The court of Spain promised, but the king of France really lent her succours in men and money: the galleys from Toulon transported about five thousand French in spite of the English fleet. The duke of Boufflers arrived with fresh succours; he was son to that marshal Boufflers who had served Lewis XIV. so faithfully; the son did not degenerate from his father; but he died at Genoa the very day that the enemy, disconcerted by the measures he had taken, removed out of the neighbourhood of the town.

During these alternate losses and advantages, common to all wars, a brother of marshal Belleisle loses part of his army, and is killed * in attacking the Piedmontese, who are entrenched at the Collo di Tende in Piedmont. But Lewis XV. repaired every thing by his victories in the Netherlands. Maestricht was now upon the point of surrendering to marshal Saxe, who laid siege to it after the best conducted march that ever general made, and from thence would have proceeded directly to Nimeguen. The Dutch

were

* July 19. 1747.

were frightened ; there were near five and thirty thousand of their troops at that time prisoners of war in France ; so that disasters greater than those of 1672, seemed to threaten the republic. But what France gained on one side, she lost on the other : her colonies were exposed ; her commerce was at a stand ; and her navy destroyed. All nations suffered, and they had all need of peace, as in the precedent wars. Near seven thousand merchant ships, either French, Spanish, English, or Dutch, had been taken in the course of these mutual depredations : and thence we may conclude, that above fifty thousand families had been great sufferers. Add to these disasters, the multitude of people slain, and the difficulty of recruiting, which is the consequence of every war. One half of Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, was ravaged : to increase and prolong the general calamity, the English and Dutch had, with the weight of their money, brought five and thirty thousand Russians into Germany, who, by this time, had reached Franconia ; and presently those troops that had beaten the Turks and the Swedes were to march to the frontiers of France.

One of the most remarkable circumstances of this war is, that every time when Lewis XV. obtained a victory, he made offers of peace to the enemy, which they would not accept of. At length, when they saw that Maestricht was going to fall after Bergenopzoom, and that Holland was in danger, the enemy, in their turn, sued for a peace, which was become so necessary to all Europe.

One of the plenipotentiaries of France, at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle *, began with declaring, that he was come to fulfil his master's words, *who was willing to conclude a peace, not as a merchant, but as a king.*

Lewis XV. wanted nothing for himself, but he did every thing for his allies : by this peace he secured the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to Don Carlos, a prince of his blood ; he settled his son-in-law, Don Philip, in Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla ; and his ally, the duke of Modena, son-in-law to the regent duke of Orleans, was restored to his dominions, which he had lost by siding with France. Genoa recovered all her rights. The court of France thought it more glorious, and even more to her advantage, to consult only the interest of her allies, than to acquire two or three towns in Flanders, which would have been a perpetual object of jealousy

England, that had no other private interest of her own in this general war, but that of a single ship, lost a great deal of treasure and blood ; and the quarrel about the ship stood just as it did before. The king of Prussia reaped the greatest advantage ; he preserved the conquest of Silesia, at a time when it was a maxim of all the powers of Europe not to suffer the aggrandizement of any state. The duke of Savoy, king of Sardinia, was, next to the king of Prussia, the greatest gainer, the queen of Hungary having purchased his alliance by part of the Milanese.

After this peace France recovered herself, as she had done after the peace of Utrecht, and

ever

* Oct. 15. 1748.

even became more flourishing. Christendom then formed two great divisions, which stood in awe of each other, and by mutual jealousy maintained that balance of power, the pretext of so many wars, which was to ensure a lasting peace. The states of the empress queen of Hungary, and part of Germany, Russia, England, Holland, and Sardinia, composed one of those great divisions. The other was formed of France, Spain, the two Sicilies, Prussia, and Sweden. All these powers continued armed, and a solid tranquillity was expected from the very apprehensions with which these two great divisions seemed to inspire each other.

Lewis XIV. was the first who kept up those large standing armies, which obliged the other princes to use the same efforts: so that, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Christian powers of Europe had about a million of men in arms; and they flattered themselves, that, for a long time, there would be no fresh aggressor, as the several states were all upon their guard.

P p 2

APPEN-

A P P E N D I X.

CONTAINING

An account of the rise, progress, and extinction of the rebellion in Scotland in the years 1745 and 1746.

THE late rebellion in Scotland is one of the most important events that had happened in the kingdom for a long time backward, and was attended with very interesting consequences. Of all the miseries of war, those attendant on a civil war are the most dreadful; for in this baneful strife, countrymen shed the blood of their countrymen, children rise against their fathers, and those of the same house are divided against each other; laws are silent, justice is banished, violence unrestrained, and an hereditary enmity established amongst the survivors of the common calamity.

At the time when this unhappy event took place the people of G. Britain enjoyed more liberty than any nation ever possessed; every man had the unmolested privilege of exercising his own religion, and was secure in the possession of his property, through the exercise of law and justice; even the nonjurors met with no disturbance, though their attachment to the doctrine of indefeasible hereditary right was no secret, and though they did not pray in their assemblies for the preserva-

on of that monarch and government who allowed them such ample privileges.

The pretender's declared design was, to recover Britain and Ireland, which he had been taught to look upon as his natural inheritance, descending to him by divine hereditary right, and from which he thought himself unjustly excluded; to redress the grievances of the nation; to secure to all Protestants their religion and liberties; to encourage trade and manufactures; in short, to make us a free, an independent, and a happy people. As this was the purport of his declarations, his friends readily believed him, and resolved to venture life and fortune to accomplish his design. But the body of the nation could not be induced to enter into his views, as they thought the real intention of the enterprise, however speciously coloured, was, to overturn our religion, laws, and liberties; to place a Popish pretender upon the throne, whose ancestor had made the most vigorous efforts to wreath about our necks the heavy yoke of Popery and arbitrary power; to dethrone the present king, whose study has ever been the happiness of his people, and under whose government the most bigotted Jacobite, the boldest rebel never had reason to complain of the least violence or oppression; in fine, to subject us to the see of Rome, and to make our nation a province dependent upon France and Spain.

The plain case was, that the friends of the house of Stuart longed for a revolution in favour of the pretender; believed it would be a great and glorious work to effect it, and that they would be happy under the new government; and, consequently, thought no means unlawful that tended to promote their favourite scheme: while, on the other hand, the great body of the nation were well pleased with the revolution-settlement, and determined to oppose every attempt to overturn it, the consequence of which they apprehended would be to entail misery upon the whole kingdom.

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This rebellion, from small and unpromising circumstances, gradually acquired strength, made surprising progress, triumphed over renewed opposition, and seemed to be on the point of succeeding in its aim; when Providence, by one battle, reached it a mortal blow, by which it was soon extinguished, to the ruin of many of those concerned in the enterprise. We have not yet forgot the depredations and the bloodshed that spoiled and stained those countries through which the rebels passed; the distress of public credit, the stagnation of trade, the interruption and loss of various branches of our manufactures, and the dismal apprehensions which seized on the minds of all the loyal subjects; nay, we can never forget the loss of the lives, the blood, and the limbs of those officers and soldiers who died in the defence of our religion and liberties, and who conquered in the famous battle of Culloden; a battle that will be perpetuated in the annals of time.

The rebellion, no doubt, was suffered to prevail for a time, that its fall might be the greater. It involved many of the actors in ruin, entailed misery upon their descendents, and at once extinguished all their hopes of raising their darling prince to the throne of these kingdoms. Happy would it be, if the remnant and successors of those who were engaged in that rebellion, warned by the unhappy fate of their predecessors, would beware of splitting upon the same fatal rock, by espousing the cause and supporting the interest of a family that seems to be preserved for a scourge to its friends and adherents; and would learn to submit to the rulers which Providence and the choice of a free people have placed over them.

Of this rebellion several accounts have been lately published, both at home and abroad. But the most part of them are imperfect narratives, full of mistakes. Facts have been misrepresented, and the power of the pathos has been exhausted in laboured descriptions of scenes

scenes of horror, which either never were exhibited, or which will be found to be greatly exaggerated, or may admit of an apology. The actors in the rebellion have been represented as an innocent inoffensive set of men, and their prince as a magnanimous and mild hero, whose good qualities deserve a crown; but the loyal subjects, and the gentlemen of the army, especially the last, have been stigmatized as blood-thirsty devils, and the savage ministers of vengeance, who slaughtered the rebels, and those connected with them, in cool blood, spread fire and sword through their country, and involved them all in one general undistinguished destruction.

To rectify mistakes, to undeceive the simple and unwary, who may be apt to be imposed upon by the artifices of designing men, who write histories, apparently with a view to seduce the people from their loyalty to their lawful sovereign, and to keep up the spirit of rebellion and disaffection; in short, to give a genuine narrative of the rise, progress, and extinction of the rebellion, is the design of this appendix.

The Chevalier de St George, the real or supposed son of the late K. James II. has two sons, viz. Charles Edward, born Dec. 31. 1721; and Henry Benedict, born March 6. 1725, so called from Pope Benedict XIII. Charles assumes the title of *Prince of Wales*. Henry styled *Duke of York*, entered into the church, and was some years ago raised to the purple by Pope Benedict XIV.

In the year 1743, the late Cardinal Tencin, then prime minister of France, who had been advanced to the purple upon the recommendation of the pretender, did, upon an application from the Papists and Jacobites in G. Britain and Ireland, the known and open adherents to the Stuart family, project an invasion of Britain, in order to restore the pretender to the crown. For this purpose he concerted matters with the old Chevalier at Rome, who, being too far advanced in years

to engage in such an expedition, agreed to delegate his pretensions to his eldest son Charles, who is represented to be a youth of a genteel and graceful person ; of free, generous, affable, and engaging manners ; of a forward, daring, and enterprising spirit ; to have the spirit of a Sobieski, without the timidity of a Stuart ; and though nursed in all the delights of the effeminate country of Italy, to be able to encounter hardship, hunger, and cold. In fact, Charles set out from Rome about the end of December 1743, and arrived in France, where he was graciously received by the French King. He then set out for the coast of Picardy, where an army, consisting of 15 or 16,000 men, was assembling, under the command of the late Count Saxe ; and transports were provided at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, for carrying them to England. It was intended to land them on the coast of Kent, where an insurrection of the Papists and Jacobites in favour of the young pretender, was promised and expected. At the same time a squadron sailed from Brest, to convoy the transports. This intended invasion, however, turned to no account. The Brest squadron, like another invincible armada, fled before the British fleet under the command of Sir John Norris, and had almost shared the same fate. About 7000 French troops were actually embarked at Dunkirk ; but a violent storm drove ashore and destroyed many of the transports, and damaged and disabled the rest. A great many of the troops were drowned, and the rest discouraged. The expedition was then laid aside, and the young adventurer returned to Paris, resolved to wait a more favourable opportunity. Happy had it been for him and his deluded followers, had such a supposed opportunity never come ; but that he had immediately retired to Rome, to live under the protection of the Pope, as his father did, upon his disappointment in 1715, without thinking of a crown, which there is no probability he will ever attain.

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This disappointment, however, did not discourage the ambitious adventurer. The splendor of a crown dazzles his eyes, the fallacious hopes of succours from France and Spain animate him, and the warm solicitations of certain malecontents in Britain incite him to try his fortune once more. The animosities and dissensions which prevailed in G. Britain, the great loss our troops sustained in the unfortunate battle at Fontenoy in May 1745, and the false accounts he received, that the nation was ripe for revolt, and would almost to a man assemble to his standard, are all-powerful motives. Perhaps too an overweening confidence in the strength of his own personal interest and qualifications, with the loud clamours of political writers and discontented pretended patriots, who were continually harping upon our national debts and taxes, a continental war, and Hanoverian and other foreign troops in British pay, might be in his view as additional reasons. Certain it is, no opportunity could be more favourable for exciting a rebellion in the kingdom: for Scotland was almost destitute of troops, the King was in Hanover, and great part of the highlanders, a people bred to arms, nursed up in ignorance or Popery, of hardy robust bodies, and greedy of plunder, were keen for insurrection. Perhaps they might be stimulated on this occasion by the suggestions of revenge, for the treatment some of their countrymen had met with two years before. In 1739, the six highland independent companies that had been raised for preventing thefts and robberies in the highlands of Scotland, having, with four new companies, been formed into a regiment, and ordered for London, in order to embark for Flanders; when arrived at London, about 150 of them deserted with their arms, on pretence that they had been decoyed into the service, by promises and assurances that they should never be sent abroad. They were overtaken by a body of horse, persuaded to return, brought back prisoners to London, committed to the tower, and tried for desertion.

tion. Three, viz. Samuel and Malcolm Macphersons corporals, and Farquhar Shaw, a private man, were shot to death, upon the parade within the tower, on the 18th of July 1743; and the rest, to the number of 136, were sent in exile to the plantations. The fate of the sufferers was, 'tis said, deeply resented by the clans to which they belonged; and the highlanders, naturally vindictive, waited impatiently for an opportunity of vengeance.

Towards the end of May 1745, Charles having prepared a manifesto to be dispersed in Britain, and made necessary preparations for his expedition, left Paris, and took the road to Nantz. He was accompanied by William Marquis of Tullibardine, elder brother to James Duke of Athol, who had been attainted for having been engaged in the rebellion in the year 1715; Sir Thomas Sheridan, formerly tutor to the young pretender; Sir John Macdonald; Col. Strickland; Capt. O'Sullivan; Mr George Kelly, a clergyman of the church of England, who had escaped out of the tower of London, as concerned in the Bishop of Rochester's plot; and Mr Æneas Macdonald, a banker at Paris, and brother to Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart.

Having been furnished with money, arms, and ammunition, by two merchants, he, on the 20th of June, set out, with his attendants, from Nantz, in fishing-boats. On the 21st he embarked on board a small vessel of 110 tuns and 16 guns, called *La Doutelle*, provided and furnished for him by one of the above-mentioned merchants, said to be one Mr Walsh, an Irish merchant at St Malo's. Next day he set sail out of the river Loire, off St Nazaire, and on the 23d anchored off Belleisle. Here he continued till the 4th of July, when he was joined by the *Elisabeth*, a French man of war of 66 guns, procured, it is said, by the owner of the *Doutelle*, as convoy to that vessel, on pretence of going a voyage of traffick. Both ships sailed on the

5th. The young pretender was incog. dressed like a student at the Scotch college in Paris, and known only to his seven friends. It is said, that when he was at Nantz, and not till then, he wrote letters to the old Chevalier, and to the Kings of France and Spain, acquainting them of his expedition, and asking succours; and that this was the first intelligence those princes had of his expedition. The accounts, however, of those times assured us, that he received the money and arms from the French King; that the ministry of France were privy to the design, and gave him strong assurances of assistance; that they not only gave him the frigate on board of which he embarked, but ordered the Elisabeth to convoy him, which had on board 400,000 l. Sterling, with arms for several thousand men. And indeed it is very improbable, that two private merchants should fit out a frigate at their own expence, and that they should have the address to procure a French ship of the line, as convoy to a paltry frigate.

But be that as it will, the two French ships sailed from Belleisle on the 5th of July, with design to sail round Ireland, and land on the western coast of Scotland. The Lion, a British man of war of 58 guns, commanded by Capt. Piercy Brett, who had been one of Lord Anson's lieutenants in his voyage round the world, being then on a cruise, fell in with the two ships on the 9th, about 93 leagues west from the Lizard. The Lion, though inferior in strength, yet resolutely bore down upon them, and a very obstinate and bloody action ensued, which lasted five hours. The Doutelle, in the beginning of the engagement, twice attempted to rake the Lion, but was soon beat off by her sternchace, and after that lay off at a great distance. The Elisabeth had her captain and 64 men killed, 136 dangerously wounded, and a greater number slightly; and was so disabled that she could not prosecute the voyage, and with difficulty reached Brest. The Lion

had 45 men killed and 107 wounded, of whom seven died soon after, and was so terribly shattered that she looked like a wreck ; she got, however, safe into Plymouth.

Charles not discouraged at the loss of his convoy, and of the arms and money that were on board her, could not be persuaded to return, but obstinately resolved to sail for Scotland, saying, that he would brave all dangers, and that he should either die or be crowned. Meeting with no further interruption, he, on the 22d, came opposite to Bernera, the southmost of the western islands of Scotland ; next day landed at Eriska, between the islands of Bara and South Uist ; anchored on the 25th in Lochnanuach, between Arisaig and Morar ; and landed on the 28th at Boradale, which borders on Lochnanuach. He went that day to Kinlochmoidart's house, where he was met by young Clanronald, Lochiel, Keppoch, Glenco, &c. Messengers were immediately dispatched to the several clans, to notify the young pretender's arrival, which was expected, and to desire them to raise their men. John Murray of Broughton, afterwards the pretender's secretary, apprised of his landing, joined him at Kinlochmoidart's house, where he found the seven persons who had accompanied him from France, Lochiel, Keppoch and a few others. Mr Murray, and some of the other gentlemen, endeavoured to dissuade him from proceeding in his intended enterprise, and earnestly advised him to return to France, and wait a more favourable opportunity, telling him, they had no prospect of his succeeding, the government was alarmed, and making preparations to oppose him.

Deaf to advice, and fired with ambition for a crown, the pretender set up his standard about ten days after. Mr Murray joined him, at a place called *Glengary*, and circular letters were wrote to all the clans in interest, and to others who were thought to be friendly to his cause, particularly to Simon Lord Lovat, to a

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quaint them to bring up their men. In this service Kinlochmoidart and young Clanronald were particularly active. Lochiel's and Keppoch's men were the first that repaired to his standard; others came gradually in; and some, though strongly attached to his interest, stood aloof for a time, waiting the event. It is said, that the pretender having taken his standard in his hand, and the clans shewing an aversion to the service, through fear of the consequences, he threw it down in a passion; declaring, that if none took it up, he would immediately return to France; at the same time telling them, that he had come upon their invitation, and was willing to run any risk with them; that he was in their hand, and they might do with him as they should think proper. Lochiel immediately took up the standard, saying, with some emotion, he should not be the last man to venture life and fortune for the royal house of Stuart.

Rumours of this expedition began to be universally spread in the beginning of July; but, unhappily, the design was treated as a matter of ridicule and mere rumour, both by the loyal and the disaffected.

Sir John Cope, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, received the first notice of the intended rebellion on the 2d of July, from the Lord President Forbes, who had received an account of the design the night before in a letter from a gentleman in the highlands. Though both the Lord President and Sir John believed the report to be groundless, the latter wrote of it that very day to the Marquis of Tweeddale, Secretary for Scottish affairs; and desired, that arms might be sent down to be lodged in some of the garrisons in the highlands, for the use of the well-affected clans, in case there should be occasion for them.

On the 24th of July, by virtue of a warrant from the Lord Advocate Craigie, Capt. Duncan Campbell of Inveraw, of Lord John Murray's highland regiment, attempted to apprehend the Duke of Perth at Drummond

mond castle; but he made his escape into the woods, and some time after joined the pretender.

The Marquis of Tweeddale, by letters of July 30. and Aug. 1. informed Gen. Cope, that they had received intelligence of the pretender's son's having sailed from Nantz on the 4th of July; and that 5000 stand of arms were sent down to be lodged in the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Inverness; and recommended to his Excellency, in case the Duke of Argyle desired any arms, to deliver them to his Grace immediately.

Of the few troops then in Scotland, there were none in the highlands, except in the garrisons. Had the government acted with proper vigour when they received the first intelligence of Charles's enterprise, by immediately causing all the regular troops march to the highlands, and arming the well-affected clans, they might have crushed the adventure in embryo, before any great number of Papists and Jacobites could have been brought together; and might thereby have prevented all the mischief that happened, and saved the honour of the nation: but the Lords Justices seemed to slight the information, and to treat it as an idle chimera. Perhaps they might think, that a few Scotch highlanders would not be so mad as to take it into their heads, that, without any assistance, they could effect a revolution in Britain; and that even supposing the French should land a few troops in Scotland, they would not be joined by any great number of the inhabitants. They might think, that his Majesty's government, ever since his accession, had been so just and mild, that there could be no discontents in that or any other parts of the kingdom; that even the Papists and nonjurors had been made so easy, and had been allowed so much liberty, with respect to both their civil and religious concerns, that they would not be so wicked and ungrateful as to rebel against a government which had allowed them so much favour and indulgence. But they were unhappily mistaken.

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The Papists and Jacobites immediately took up arms against the best of kings and the mildest of governments. Even some who had partook of the royal mercy in a former rebellion, now renewed hostilities; and some who had eat the King's bread, were among the first to lift up their heel against him.

On the 6th of August was published by the Lords of the regency a proclamation offering a reward of 30,000 l. to any person who should seize and secure the eldest son of the pretender, in case he should land, or attempt to land, in any of his Majesty's dominions. About the same time a courier was dispatched to Hanover to hasten the King's return. His Majesty accordingly arrived at Kensington on the 31st, having been huzzaed, in passing through London, with the loudest acclamations, expressing the great joy of the loyal citizens at his Majesty's happy return. The first notice of the young pretender's landing in Scotland, was given in the London gazette of August 17. The pretended prince having got notice of the above-mentioned proclamation, issued a counter one, dated, *Camp at Kinlochiel, Aug. 22. 1745*, pretending to offer a reward of 30,000 l. for apprehending his Majesty, whom he styled *Electer of Hanover*. This daring paper was printed at Edinburgh after the rebels took possession of that city, and was, with some other treasonable manifestos, burnt at London, by the hands of the common hangman, on the 12th of November thereafter, by an order of both houses of parliament.

As it was now too certain that the young pretender was landed in Scotland, that the disaffected clans were crowding to his standard, and that several persons attached to his interest were privately setting out from different parts to join him; Gen. Cope ordered all the troops he could collect to march to Stirling, where a camp was formed, and all military persons to repair to their respective posts. He also took care to have the garrisons reinforced, and supplied with provisions.

ons. Two new-levied companies of the Royal Scots foot, quartered at Perth, received orders, Aug. 10. to march to Fort William. Having passed Fort Augustus, they fell in, on the 16th, with a strong party of highlanders on their way to join the pretender, commanded by Donald Macdonald of Tyendrish. The party immediately attacked the troops; who, after an obstinate resistance, a retreat of eleven miles, and expending all their powder, were obliged to surrender. They were carried to the rebels camp. The officers, and some of the men, were liberated upon their parole. Capt. Scot went to Fort William, to be cured of his wounds; the other officers and the men came to Edinburgh. Capt. Campbell of Inveraw, with his company of highlanders, having gone the west road, got safe into Fort William.

By this time Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod, two of the most powerful chieftains in the highlands, had offered their service to the government. Macleod wrote to the earl of Loudon on the 13th of August, that if there were a method of sending arms to them by sea, Sir Alexander and he could immediately bring 1500 men to any place they should be ordered; assuring his Lordship, that both of them were ready and willing to exert their utmost efforts in behalf of the government. Their offer was accepted, but the arms were not sent to them in due time for quashing the rebellion. These gentlemen were greatly importuned to declare for the pretender; but they absolutely refused to engage in his cause. It was an unlucky circumstance, that the well-affected highlanders had no arms; otherwise, being the most powerful, they would soon have dispersed the disaffected.

Sir John Cope having received positive orders from London to march north and attack the rebels, as he could muster no more than 1200 foot, many of them but raw troops, he wrote to the Duke of Athol, Lord Glenorchy, only son of the Earl of Breadalbane, and the

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chiefs of the other well-affected clans, requesting their assistance. In their answers they expressed great zeal for the government, and concern that they could not be useful, because their clans were disarmed; and their chiefs conceived that they could not arm without legal authority. In hopes of assistance, however, the General, accompanied by the Earl of Loudon, and a great many officers, set out Aug. 19. from Edinburgh for Stirling, having previously caused a quantity of bread and other provisions be got ready to serve the troops on the march. On the 20th and 21st, all the troops, consisting of infantry only, and not exceeding 1200 men, crossed the Forth by Stirling bridge, with design to march by Tay-bridge to the highlands. Though the General had ground to expect assistance from the Duke of Athol and Lord Glenorchy; and though he promised to discharge at the end of three months certain, or sooner if the service permitted, such of their men as should enlist; yet at Crieff the Duke told him, he could not supply the troops with any men, and expressed great concern about it; and there Lord Glenorchy told him, that the notice he had received was so short, he could not get his men together. The truth seems to be, that though these Lords were heartily in the interest of the government, yet many of their people were attached to the pretender, and means had been used underhand to secure them for him. Of about twenty or thirty men whom the Duke kept as a guard to protect his country from thefts, his Grace got twelve or fifteen to join the army; but, after marching a day or two, they went home again. It was in expectation that a body of the well-affected highlanders would join the regular troops on their march through the highlands, that the march was projected; and Sir John, finding no reason to expect such a junction on the first part of the march, would have stopped at Crieff, if he had not had positive orders to march to the Chain. Lord Loudon was of the same opinion.

At Dalnacardich Lord Glenorchy offered to send 300 men, if the army would stay there two or three days: but the hurry of the expedition could not admit of delay. Sir John had caused 1000 stand of arms be carried along with his troops; but finding none joined him, he sent 700 of them back to Stirling castle.

The little army now marched on by themselves with the greatest cheerfulness, desiring nothing more than to come to action with the rebels. At Dalwhinny, where the Fort Augustus and Inverness roads meet, the General was informed, that the rebels were posted on Corryarrich, a noted advantageous pass, seventeen miles distant on the way to the Chain. Here the commanding officers of the several corps were called together, and their opinion asked about what was proper to be done. It was certain, that the rebels were to wait for the King's troops at Corryarrich, where their different parties, from the head of Loch-Lochy, and Luganauchnadrum, could easily join them. They intended to line the traverses or windings of the road, up the mountain, being seventeen in number; and in the traverses their men would be intrenched to the teeth. They are flanked by a hollow, or water-course, which falls from the top of the mountain; this water-course they intended to line, where their men would be well covered; as likewise numbers of them might be among the rocks, on the top of the hill. They proposed to break down the bridge at Snugburrow, which lifts the roads over a steep precipice, and to place men in the hollow ways, which flank the roads both ways. Several of the officers had formerly marched over the ground, and all of them unanimously agreed, that to force the rebels in that post was utterly impracticable; that it would inevitably be attended with the loss of their provisions, artillery, military stores, &c. and the defeat of the troops; and that the giving the rebels a success upon their first setting out, was by all means to be prevented, as what might be attended with but

consequence

consequences to the service. It was next debated whether they should return to Stirling, or march to Ruthven, and so on to Inverness. The officers were unanimously of opinion, that to return to Stirling was not adviseable; as the rebels could march to Stirling a nearer way than they could, by marching down the side of Loch Rannoch; that they could get to the bridge of Kynachin before the troops, break it down, and cut off their retreat; that to stay where they were, and thereby pretend to stop their progress southward, was folly; as they could, without coming over Corryarrich, go south, by roads over the mountains. It was therefore determined to march to Inverness.

On the march from Dalwhinny towards Ruthven, the General received a letter, Aug. 27. from the Laird of Grant, giving him full expectation of being joined by a considerable part of that clan. But, on coming into Grant's country, he received a message from him, importing, that his house was threatened by the rebels; that he must therefore keep his men at home, and could not send any to join the army.

Thus Sir John Cope met with a series of disappointments in this ill-fated expedition. It was evidently a wrong measure, and a solecism in politics. The fate of it might have been foreseen, and the consequences happily prevented. The army should not have marched from Stirling; there they could have secured that important pass, and kept the rebels on the northside of the Forth. But Providence seems to have infatuated our measures, that almost all Scotland, with a considerable part of the north of England, might be exposed as a prey to a ravenous banditti.

The army arrived at Inverness Aug. 29. not having rested one day since they set out. Here they were joined by 200 Monroes, under the command of Capt. George Monro of Culcairn. As it was now foreseen that the rebels would march southward, having no

troops to oppose their progress, Sir John made no longer stay at Inverness than was necessary for preparing to march to Aberdeen, where he ordered transports to be ready for carrying the army by sea to Leith. After a hard march, the army arrived at Aberdeen on or before the 8th of September; and having soon after embarked, they put to sea, and arrived off Dunbar, twenty miles east from Edinburgh, on the 16th. The troops were landed on the 17th, and the artillery, &c. on the 18th. Here the General received the astonishing news of the city of Edinburgh being given up to the rebels early in the morning of the 17th. But here we leave the royal army, to trace the progress of the rebels, and the transactions at Edinburgh.

The young pretender, in expectation of Gen. Cope's marching by the hill of Corryarrich, had decamped, in the morning of August 27. from Aberchallader in Glenargy, with design to fight him. On his arrival at Garvamore in the evening, he learned, that Sir John had taken his route to Ruthven in Badenoch, and had made such dispatch, that in two days he had performed a four days march.

The rebels having now no forces to oppose their progress, and invited by their friends in the south, they did not fail to improve their good fortune. They reached the braes of Athol on the 29th, and arrived at Blair on the 30th; the Duke of Athol, with several gentlemen of Perth and Fyfe, retiring on their approach. In Athol the disaffected people of the country joined the young pretender's standard, and every march drew on the lurking rebels. From Blair the rebels marched to Dunkeld, where the main body arrived Sept. 2. From thence, their advanced guard, under the command of Lord Nairn, proceeded to Perth, which they entered on the 3d. Here the pretender's declarations were read over the cross; here the ensigns of rebellion were formally displayed; and hither the disaffected from all quarters repaired. From this place detachments were

sent to Dundee, where they read the papers formerly read at Perth, levied the public money, ransacked every corner for arms and ammunition, invited the people to join them, and seized whatever could contribute to their success. Parties of them likewise made excursions into different parts of Fife.

At Perth, the young pretender was joined by several of the disaffected nobility and gentry, such as, the Duke of Perth, Lord Strathallan, James Graham of Duntroon, titular Viscount of Dundee, Lord George Murray, Lord Nairn, Sir William Gordon of Park, Sir James Kinloch, Sir John Wedderburn, Mess. Oliphants of Gask, Robert Mercer of Aldie, Mr Hunter of Burnside, and others, with all whom their influence could excite to rise. A demand of 1000 l. Sterling was made upon the town of Perth; one half of which was paid; and for security of the payment of the other moiety, two hostages, with the town's charters, were carried off. The magistrates had fled on the arrival of the rebels.

Before Charles left Perth, his army was said to consist of 4000 men, though scarce 1500 of these were tolerably armed. He marched from Perth to Dumbain, Sept. 11.; proceeded to Down on the 12th; and next day passed the Forth, at the ford of Frew, a few miles above Stirling; the adventurer himself being the first who took the water, and waded through at the head of his corps. Col. Gardiner's dragoons, who were posted near Stirling, retired upon the approach of the rebel-army.

After crossing the Forth, the Chevalier seemed inclinable to direct his march towards Glasgow; but having received repeated invitations from his friends in Edinburgh, he resolved to make the best of his way to that capital. However, as the city of Glasgow had always been distinguished for opposition to the pretender's interest, he sent a letter to the magistrates, demanding

demanding a contribution of 15,000 l. which demand was afterwards compromised by payment of 5500 l.

Let us now turn our views to what was passing in Edinburgh. From the commencement of these intestine commotions, the magistrates and loyal inhabitants of Edinburgh seemed to be very attentive to every transaction. Archibald Stewart, Esq; then Lord Provost, and member of parliament for the city, had been early apprised of the young pretender's arrival, by a letter from the Marquis of Tweeddale, one of his Majesty's secretaries of state, dated Aug. 13, in which it had been warmly recommended to him to exert his utmost efforts for preserving the public peace within the city; and his Lordship, by his answer, dated Aug. 17. assured the Marquis that the town was never better affected, nor more peaceable, than at that time; promising not to sit down in security, but to keep a watchful eye to prevent any public disturbance. On the 7th of September, the magistrates and council agreed on a loyal address to the King, which was presented by the Duke of Argyll on the 11th, and graciously received. And though the far greater part of the inhabitants were zealously attached to his Majesty's person and government; yet it was certain the pretender had many friends in the city, who lay a dead weight upon every vigorous and spirited measure that was projected. It is not necessary to give detail of all the steps taken for defending the city; but only to glance at the most material.

As it was foreseen, that if the royal army should be defeated in the north, or the rebels should force their way down to the low country, the latter would bend their force toward Edinburgh; the loyal inhabitants of that capital began, towards the end of August, to provide for their security against a surprise. A noble spirit of loyalty was displayed, and the loyal of every denomination were unanimous in their opposition to Charles's interest. And had this spirit been encouraged

ged by those at the helm, the city would not have been so tamely delivered up to a handful of naked and unarmed highlanders, as we shall afterwards see. A subscription was opened for raising a regiment of 1000 men for the public service, and the measure was authorised by his Majesty; the city-guard was augmented; a regiment of volunteers, consisting of the chief gentlemen of the city, in which were some of the clergy, and persons who had bore the office of magistracy, was formed; and the Seceders, whose loyalty is unquestionable, formed a separate corps, consisting of near 300 men. All the volunteers were furnished with arms and ammunition from the royal magazine in the castle; they began to learn military exercise, and to prepare for a time of danger. The trained bands too, consisting of a mixed multitude, of Whigs and Jacobites, kept guard in the city; the city-walls were repaired in several places, and provided with cannon; barricades were erected at the gates, where danger was apprehended; and every disposition was made for a vigorous defence. It must not, however, be forgot, that the disaffected opposed every proposal for the public service, and that the disaffection or timidity of some people at last disconcerted all the formidable preparations that had been made. In short, the city was in a short space so well fortified, and provided with such a number of armed men, that it might have held out for a few days against an unarmed rabble, who had not a single cannon, if those at the helm had done their duty. But, to their lasting dishonour, the capital of Scotland was, by some unaccountable management, or strange fatality, given up to a handful of starved savages, without stroke of sword.

By the 15th of September the rebels had got within nine miles of Edinburgh, and Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons were posted about two miles west of it. It was thought the rebels would have advanced that day to attack the dragoons; and a proposal was made

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by some of the volunteers to march out, with a detachment of the Edinburgh regiment and the city-guard, in order to support them; but this proposal was not carried into execution; for which the Provost was blamed. A party of the city-guard and Edinburgh regiment, however, went out that day and the following. The 15th, being the Lord's day, the city was in great confusion, public worship was suspended, and the volunteers were under arms all day. A strong party, consisting of 700 men, did duty during the night.

Next day, Monday the 16th, the public works were carried on with alacrity, all the volunteers were under arms, and every loyal inhabitant expressed the utmost zeal for defending the city, if the rebels should attack it. But, about mid-day, the preparations began to be suspended, and all the zeal for a vigorous defence to cool, on the part of those whose province it was to regulate and direct the public affairs. About two o'clock, too, a petition was set on foot, by certain timid or disaffected persons in the city, to which forty-eight subscriptions were clandestinely procured, and presented to the Provost about three, praying the magistrates and council to call a meeting of the principal inhabitants, in order to deliberate about defending or giving up the town; and that no resolution should be taken till that meeting were held. About this time the dragoons, who had been posted about Corstorphine and the Colt-bridge, on the approach of the rebels, marched off by the back of the city, taking the route of Musselburgh and Haddington; and their baggage and tents were carried into the castle, and part of it sent after them. About the same time too the ministers of state left the city, rightly judging that all the parade of preparations for defending the town would come to nothing when the hour of danger arrived.

The flight of the dragoons, and the retiring of the
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officers of the crown, were, however, made a handle of for pushing the meeting desired by the aforementioned petition. The meeting was accordingly held in the New church isle, and the Provost presided in it. Though several persons of known good affection to his Majesty's person and government were present, yet the far greater part were of a quite contrary character, and care had been taken to get the whole posse of the disaffected heritors convened on this occasion. The general cry in this confused assembly was for giving up the city without any defence; and those who attempted to speak in opposition to that measure, were borne down with clamour and noise. The plain case was, the disaffected composed the far greater part of this meeting, and patriotism was sacrificed to Jacobitism. The gentlemen volunteers were in arms, and knew nothing of the meeting; and when they heard of it, they were highly displeased. Nay, so bent were the bulk of this tumultuous assembly to give up the town to the rebels, that an offer of a party of dragoons to assist in defending the city, was treated with ridicule, and the general cry was, *No dragoons*; and the Provost, who had that very day signed a petition along with the Lord Advocate, craving them, said now, that he would neither bid nor forbid them, and that Gen. Guest, who commanded in the castle, might do in that matter as he thought proper. In short, the result of this meeting was, to capitulate on the best terms that could be got, and that the volunteers should deliver their arms to the castle.

At the same time that the disaffected citizens were carrying all before them at the meeting in the New church isle, their agents were no less active upon the streets, running up and down, to intimidate the inhabitants, and spreading their malignant counsels from house to house; so that the whole inhabitants were put to as great confusion and terror, as if an army of thousands had entered the city, and were massacring

all who fell in their way. The volunteers, who had resolved to risk their lives in defence of their native city, being informed of the result of the cabal in the New church, and the general consternation occasioned by the prevalence of Jacobite counsels, saw now plainly, that it was in vain to think of defending a place, of which its governors had abandoned the care. Should they persist in their patriotic resolution, they had none to head or direct them; and should they unite in a body, and take the government of the city into their own hands, they would be treated as disturbers of the peace, and might in the issue be punished as such. If they should defend the city, the disaffected citizens might betray them, and open a way for their friends, the highland rout. They had then no other course left, but to deliver their arms into the castle, to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels: and this they did with the utmost reluctance, and with heavy complaints against the governors of the city, who, seduced by Jacobitish counsels, had deserted the defence of the city, upon the appearance only of danger.

And so infatuated were the managers, that no care was taken to remove or nail up the cannon on the city-walls, or secure the arms belonging to the city, then in the hands of the city-guard, and trained bands: so that they all fell into the hands of the rebels, and laid the foundation of all the mischief that afterwards happened. Nay, a proposal of delivering the cannon and city-arms into the castle, was rejected, on pretence that if they were removed, the young pretender would wreak his resentment upon the city.

At the close of the cabal in the New church, some of the disaffected citizens who carried on a correspondence with the rebels, clandestinely handed in a letter from the young Chevalier, addressed, *For the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Edinburgh*, signed CHARLES, P. R. and dated, *From our camp this 16th September 1745*, in the following words

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"Being now in a condition to make our way into the capital of his Majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, we hereby summon you to receive us as you are in duty bound to do; and in order to it, we hereby require you, upon receipt of this, to summon the town-council, and take proper measures in it for securing the peace and quiet of the city, which we are very desirous to protect. But if you suffer any of the usurper's troops to enter the town, or any of the cannon, arms, or ammunition now in it, whether belonging to the public, or to private persons, to be carried off, we shall take it as a breach of your duty, and a hainous offence against the King and us, and shall resent it accordingly. We promise to preserve all the rights and liberties of the city, and the particular property of every one of his Majesty's subjects: but if any opposition be made to us, we cannot answer for the consequences, being firmly resolved at any rate to enter the city; and in that case, if any of the inhabitants are found in arms against us, they must not expect to be treated as prisoners of war."—This letter, for certain political reasons, was not read in the public meeting; but the Lord Provost and Magistrates having retired to the goldsmiths hall, it was there read. And here it was agreed, in consequence of what had passed in the New church, to send a deputation to Charles, then at Gray's mill, within two miles of the city. Four gentlemen accordingly went, and brought back an answer in writing, as follows. "His R. H. the Prince-Regent thinks his manifesto, and the King his father's declaration, already published, are a sufficient capitulation for all his Majesty's subjects to accept of with joy. His present demands are, to be received into the city as the son and representative of the King his father, and obeyed as such when he is there. His R. H. supposes, that since the receipt of his letter to the Provost, no arms or ammunition have been suffer-

ed to be carried off or concealed, and will expect a particular account of all things of that nature. Lastly, he expects a positive answer to this before two o'clock in the morning, otherwise he will think himself obliged to take measures conform."

After the four deputies were sent out, certain notice was brought to the town-council, that Sir John Cope, with all the troops under his command, was arrived off Dunbar, and would speedily march towards the city. It was then urged, that the defence of the city should be resumed, as there was so near a prospect of relief. But it was alledged, that the intelligence was too late, and that they had come to a resolution to capitulate, and had sent a deputation for that purpose. It was then proposed to send after the deputies to bring them back; which was accordingly done; but the person sent did not overtake them. And much about the same time, two of the officers of the volunteers came to the council-chamber, and insisted that the scheme of defending the town should be resumed, and proposed the ringing of the alarm-bell, as a signal to bring every body back to their posts. To this proposal the Lord Provost made several objections; but at last, in appearance, yielded to the motion for defending the town, provided Gen. Gueff would agree to let them have arms from the castle. This the General, when applied to, chearfully promised; and at the same time proposed, that the city-arms should be put into the hands of the well-affected. A wise proposal for it had been a foolish measure from the beginning to call out and arm the trained bands, many of whom were well known to be professed Jacobites, and therefore very improper persons to be trusted with the defence of the city against the pretender.

When Gen. Gueff's answer was reported to the council, the person who brought it was told, That the person who had been sent to bring back the deputies had not come up with them, the Provost and council

cil, as they had entered upon a treaty, had come to a resolution not to defend the town. Thus, though a body of regular forces had come within twenty miles of the city, yet its governors would not take one step to defend it till they should arrive. A shrewd evidence of dastardly cowardice, or something worse.

After receiving the young adventurer's answer to the first deputation, the council agreed to send out a second, in order, if possible, to gain some more time. These second deputies also brought an answer in writing, as follows. "His R. H. has already given all the assurances he can, that he intends to exact nothing of the city in general, nor of any in particular, but what his character of Regent intitles him to. This he repeats, and renews his summons to the magistrates to receive him as such."

This second deputation returned to the city early in the morning of Tuesday September 17. in a hackney-coach. The coach had entered the town at the West port, and after setting down the deputies at a tavern, where the Lord Provost and others of the council were waiting for them, drove down the street towards the Canongate. A serjeant's command of the city-guard was posted at the Netherbow port, who, upon the coming down of the coach, immediately opened the gate to let it pass. No sooner was this done, than a body of 900 highlanders, headed by Sullivan and Lochiel, rushed in at the gate, took possession of the main guard, disarming the soldiers, and placed guards at all the gates, and at the weigh-house, &c. The Lord Provost, and the rest of the council, on notice of this event, immediately retired to their several apartments, their authority being now at an end.

The pretended prince, keen to possess himself of Edinburgh, though he had got particular information of all the proceedings in the city, and knew very well that the design of opposing his entry was laid aside;

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yet, apprehensive of a change of measures in the morning, when the news of Gen. Cope's arrival should be spread through the city, which was known only to a few the evening of the 16th, resolved early to surprise the town. For this purpose he sent the detachment already mentioned, to seize on the Netherbow gate. It was said, that this party brought some barrels of powder along with them, in order to have blown up the gate, if entrance should be refused. But we have seen, that they got access without resistance. Perhaps some of their friends were among the guard at that gate, and not averse to admit the party. For it is hardly credible, that 900 men should come in a body to the gate, in a clear moon-light night, without being heard or discovered. This detachment was said to consist of the choice of the rebels, and to be the best armed. Yet when the volunteers and well-affected took a view of them in the morning, and observed that not one half of them had muskets, and that their best arms consisted of old rusty broad swords, and most of the men half-naked, they were filled with indignation, to see the city of Edinburgh so cowardly or basely given up to a highland rabble.

About noon, the main body of the rebels came into the King's park, by the way of Duddingston, having made a pretty large circuit, to avoid being within reach of the castle-guns. Charles, their prince, in highland dress, attended by the Duke of Perth, and David Lord Elcho, eldest son of the earl of Wemyss, made his entrance, through St Anne's yard, on horseback into the royal palace of Holyroodhouse. There was a vast croud of spectators, most of them Jacobites or idle people, who saluted the adventurer with loud shouts and huzza's; and those who did not join in the frantic acclamations, were insulted and maltreated. Many of the highlanders, who guarded the pretender Prince, were grayheaded, stooped through age, and were in general ill armed.

The detachment that entered the city in the morning, had secured the heralds, pursuivants, &c. and, about one o'clock after noon, they were carried to the cross in their formalities, where they read, with sound of trumpet, the pretender's papers. This solemnity was accompanied with loud shouts on the part of the Jacobites, who crowded round the cross on this occasion. A few, of a contrary character, who witnessed the proclamation with grief of heart, were insulted. And it was observed, that several of the trained bands, who had been in arms the day before to oppose the rebels, now joined in the huzza's.

"Thus (to use the words of a certain writer) was the city of Edinburgh, which had, in their address to the King of the 7th of this very month, said; with great truth, "That this city had always distinguished itself by a firm and steady attachment to Revolution and Whig principles, and a hearty abhorrence of all Popish and arbitrary government; and particularly, that, during the rebellion in the year 1715, their zeal for his late Majesty was equalled by few, and surpassed by none; and at the same time assured his present Majesty, that at this time they would stand by him with their lives and fortunes, and employ every power they were possessed of, and all the means his Majesty should put in their hands, to disappoint the attempts of France and the pretender;" this city, which had given so many reasons to expect better things of it, was, after mighty preparations for a vigorous defence, thus poorly delivered up, without striking one blow, to a half-armed rabble, at the time when the King's army was within a day's march of the city; to the great discredit and reproach of the city itself, in the eyes of the world, who were ignorant of the particular circumstances and causes of so strange an appearance; to the hearty grief and sorrow of all its well-affected inhabitants, who are by far the greatest part of them; to the triumph of the pretender's son and his adherents;

to the ruin of many unfortunate persons, who, by this appearance of success, were encouraged to engage in the rebellion; to the real and high detriment, not of the city itself only, but of the public, (the rebels by this capture having been there furnished with arms, tents, and provisions of all kinds, which contributed chiefly to their obtaining the victory at Preston a few days after; and that again to the continuance and further progress of the rebellion); to the immense addition to the expence of the public; the great interruption of commerce and credit, the progress of his Majesty's enemies abroad, and the interruption of the internal tranquillity of his kingdom, until that was happily restored by the conduct and success of his R. H. the Duke."

But to proceed: The rebels, immediately after taking the city, seized all the cannon, arms, and ammunition belonging to it; on the 18th they issued a proclamation, requiring all persons in the county of Edinburgh, forthwith to deliver up, at the palace of Holyroodhouse, all the arms and ammunition they had in their custody, on pain of being treated as rebels; and on the 19th they sent a written message to the city of Edinburgh, requiring, on pain of military execution, that 1000 tents, 2000 targets, 6000 pairs of shoes, and a proportionable number of water-cantines, should be furnished to their army by the 23d, and promising payment as soon as the present troubles should be over. All these were accordingly furnished; and for defraying the charge, a tax of 2 s. 6 d. was laid on each pound of real rent within the city, Cannongate, and Leith. And about the same time some printers were compelled to print several papers for them, though one Drummond had shewn his inclination to favour their cause, by printing the old pretender's declaration and commission of regency, and the young one's manifesto, about a month before their arrival in Edinburgh; though, upon search, he was not detected.

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Though Charles, by the capture of Edinburgh, reaped vast advantages, raised his reputation, and acquired many friends; yet he missed a great booty, which he had cast a wishful eye upon. That was the treasure belonging to the two banks, which had been previously conveyed into the castle; as had also been the cash, plate, and most valuable effects of many private persons.

The loyal inhabitants of Edinburgh expressed the utmost uneasiness at their new guests, and groaned for deliverance. Trade and manufactures were interrupted, and few of the principal inhabitants (for many had fled) could appear openly. The news of Sir John Cope's arrival, therefore, raised their spirits, and gave them the pleasing hope of a speedy extinction of this unnatural rebellion. Unhappily, however, their hopes were frustrated; nay, their case was rendered more dismal than ever. Brig. Fowke, who had arrived at Edinburgh from London on the 15th, marched next day with the dragoons eastward, in order to join Gen. Cope, who arrived off Dunbar the same day. The troops landed on the 17th; and the artillery, &c. on the 18th. The army marched towards Edinburgh on the 19th, and was joined by the two regiments of dragoons; by which junction it was near 2200 strong. Several of the Edinburgh volunteers, and gentlemen of that city, also joined them. The rebel army, who had lain incamped at Duddingston, a mile east of Edinburgh, marched off in the morning of the 20th, with Charles at their head, in order to meet the royal army; and at the same time, the party in Edinburgh entirely evacuated the city, and followed the main body. Towards night the two armies came in sight of each other, and both sent out reconnoitring parties. Next morning, Saturday the 21st, they came to an action, a little to the north of Tranent, to the east of Preston, and to the west of Seton, about seven miles east of Edinburgh. It is not necessary to give any la-

boured description of this action, though its consequences were of the last importance. The rebels began the attack, and with such impetuosity, that in about eight minutes from the commencement of the action, the King's army was totally routed, and drove from the field of battle. A sudden and unaccountable panic seized the two regiments of dragoons, who fled with great precipitation at the first onset; and the infantry being thus basely deserted, though they fought manfully for some time, in opposition to the rude attack of the highlanders, yet were soon forced to give way to the overbearing torrent, and, in a panic, threw down their arms, and took to their heels. Several efforts were made to rally both the dragoons and the foot; but in vain: the panic extinguished all remains of honour and courage. The most part of the infantry were killed or taken prisoners; and the rebels made themselves masters of all the royal colours, artillery, tents, baggage, and military chest, in which, it was said, they found 4000 l. The rebel army consisted of 5500 effective men, as they themselves afterwards owned, though they gave out that 2000 only were in the action, which number they afterwards diminished to 1456. They said their loss consisted of four officers and 30 private men killed, and one officer and about 70 or 80 men wounded. And they computed the loss of the king's army at 500 men killed, 900 wounded, and 1400 taken prisoners: A calculation altogether incredible; for, according to the most authentic accounts, the royal army consisted but of 2200 men; and of these about 450 dragoons escaped in a body, as did also several scattered parties both of the dragoons and infantry. So that the whole number killed, wounded, and prisoners, could not exceed 1500. And of these, it may well be believed, 500 at least were killed on the field of battle, by the blood-thirsty highlanders, who mangled and cut in pieces many of the unhappy soldiers after they had fallen or surrendered. The brave Col

Gardiner

Gardiner, with five captains, and one ensign, were killed, and a great number of officers taken prisoners. None fell more lamented than Col. Gardiner, a worthy man and a gallant officer, who would not purchase life at the expence of his honour. When basely deserted by his own regiment, he alighted from his horse, repaired to the infantry, and fought on foot till he fell covered with wounds, almost in sight of Bankton, his own house.

Sir John Cope, the Earls of Home and Loudon, Brig. Fowke, Col. Lascelles, and other officers, with some of the volunteers, and about 450 dragoons, repaired in good order from the field of battle, got to Coldstream and Cornhill in the evening, and next day arrived at Berwick. And some scattered parties escaped to different places.

Such was the fate of this unfortunate battle, that the King's army, by whom deliverance from the yoke of the oppressor was ardently expected, was, as it were in a moment, annihilated, and the whole kingdom of Scotland doomed to submit to the lawless government of a pretended prince, at the head of a band of ravenous mountaineers.

Gen. Cope's conduct was loudly censured; but when inquired into by a board of general officers, it was found unblameable; and the loss of the action imputed to the shameful behaviour of the private men, and it is no enthusiasm to say, that the God of armies, who superintends all events, did not yet think fit to crown the cause of righteousness with victory, but reserved the honour of Britain's deliverance to another instrument; while he suffered rebellion to ride triumphant for a season, that its fall, at the appointed time, might be the greater and the more terrible.

Scotland must now submit to the arbitrary sway of a foreign pretender; and though the people dared not openly to speak their minds, the body of the nation

were enemies to his interest, and his arbitrary proceedings tended to confirm them in their loyalty to their lawful sovereign, the mildness and equity of whose government they had experienced for a great number of years.

Charles, indeed, bore his prosperity with some show of moderation, in order to ingratiate himself with the people, and procure followers. The evening of the battle he lay at Pinkie, and next night returned to Holyroodhouse; and his army incamped again at Duddingston. He still continued, however, to keep guard in the city as formerly; by which means many shops were shut, and almost all manufactures suspended, to the great loss of tradesmen and poor people, many of whom were reduced to the greatest indigency.

All the prisoners taken at Preston were brought to Edinburgh. The officers were liberate upon their parole, not to depart from the city, nor correspond with the enemies of the Chevalier; the private men were confined in the churches and prisons; and the wounded men who had escaped the carnage in the field of battle, were sent to the infirmary. All means were used to induce the officers to engage in the pretender's service; but they declined it to a man. A few rashly serjeants, corporals, and private men, were however prevailed on to enlist; but most of them afterwards deserted. The officers were afterwards sent into Fife and Angus, and the private men to Logierate in Arbroath. About 70 or 80 of Loudon's highland regiment, having engaged never to serve against the house of Stuart, were allowed to depart to their respective countries.

In the evening of the 21st, the day of the aforementioned battle, a message was sent by the young pretender to the dwelling-houses of the ministers of Edinburgh, desiring them to continue public worship as usual. The bells were accordingly rung next morning the Lord's day; but none of the ministers appeared.

so that there was sermon in none of the churches, while the nonjurant meeting-houses, those nurseries of disaffection and rebellion, were crowded. And indeed, during the time of the prevalence of the highland government at Edinburgh, none of the ministers preached in the churches, some of them having fled, and the rest skulked. It was surely a very wrong measure in the clergy, thus to desert their flocks without necessity, and leave them a prey to seducers. A contrary practice prevailed among the primitive teachers of Christianity, who, with undaunted courage, preached the gospel of their Lord and Master, in the midst of threatenings, dangers, nay, death, when arrayed in its most terrible form. *When ye are persecuted in one city, says the Saviour, flee to another.* This plainly imports, that they were not to be deterred from the ministerial office by the menaces of their adversaries, or shrink from their duty by the apprehension of danger: no; they were to confess their Master in the worst of times, and publish his doctrines amidst the hottest rage of their idolatrous foes. They were forewarned of persecution, previously apprised of the most cruel tortures; and when actually persecuted in one place, they were to fly to another; but not to fly without cause, upon the mere appearance of danger. The Edinburgh ministers ought, upon this occasion, to have mounted their pulpits with a brave resolution, and warned their people against engaging in the service of a Popish pretender, against imbarking in his religion, or confederating with his adherents; to have prayed as formerly, in express terms, for their only lawful and rightful sovereign K. GEORGE, and the preservation of his throne and family; and for defeating the designs of a Popish pretender, and of all his adherents; in fine, to have warmly preached the gospel, as times of danger may, through the divine blessing, prove happy means of awakening a secure and sinful people to a due consideration of their ways. Thus our clergy should have acted, not merely
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by virtue of any connivance and toleration of the then arbitrary governors, but from a sense of duty, out of regard to the authority of the Master of Assemblies; and if, for doing their duty, they were seized and imprisoned, they suffered in a good cause, and the Lord would support them in their distress. But to relinquish the exercise of their office upon the bare appearance of danger, to fly from their houses, and so to leave their people exposed a prey to the arts of designing men, under temptation to profane the Lord's day in idleness or sinful recreations, or perhaps to resort to nonjurant meeting-houses, is such a blot upon their character as will not be soon wiped off. A sad evidence of the want of faith, and of adding to that faith virtue. The ministers of the West kirk, however, were not such cowards as their brethren of the city; for they preached every Lord's day to crowded audiences, prayed for his Majesty, and warmly recommended loyalty, even in the face of some straggling highlanders: and that worthy man, Mr Macvicar, gave a distinguishing specimen of a benevolent disposition, in praying, that the Lord would not give the pretender the crown of Britain, but, of his infinite mercy, give him a heavenly crown; a form of prayer, with which the young pretender was no way displeased.

The further proceedings of the rebels while in Edinburgh, to the time of their marching to England, shall now be briefly related. On the 23d of September, the second day after the unhappy battle of Preston, Charles issued a proclamation, forbidding any outward demonstrations of public joy on account of the late victory, in regard it had been obtained by the effusion of blood, and had involved many unfortunate people in great calamity; admonishing all his friends to return thanks to God for his goodness towards them; and concluding with these words: "And we hereby again repeat what we have so often declared, that no interruption shall be given to public worship; but, on
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the contrary, all protection to those concerned in it : and if, notwithstanding hereof, any shall be found neglecting their duty in that particular, let the blame lie entirely at their own door, as we are resolved to inflict no penalty that may possibly look like persecution."

Hitherto the pretended prince behaved with some moderation ; but his unexpected success soon induced him to pursue those arbitrary measures, so natural to his ancestors. The very day after the last-mentioned proclamation, he issued a new one, narrating, That whereas he was informed, that several persons in and about Edinburgh, as well clergy as laity, did associate and take up arms against him, and that many of them had fled from their houses, to avoid prosecutions ; he therefore granted a full pardon to such persons for all treasons committed by them before publication of the proclamation, provided that within twenty days they presented themselves to his secretary, and promised to live for the future as quiet and peaceable subjects. In consequence of this proclamation, five or six of the volunteers presented themselves, others absconded, and far the greater part continued peaceably about their business, without regarding rebel-proclamations. It was not a proper season for a prince in quest of a crown, to begin his reign with blood and cruelty. The disposition to revenge must be repressed, till the season of glutting it to the full arrive.

We have already mentioned that the two banks had been removed into the castle. The rebels were not a little vexed at this step ; and therefore, on the 24th, a proclamation was issued by Charles, in which, upon a narrative, That great inconveniencies had attended the removal of the two banks into the castle, and from an opinion industriously spread, as if he intended to seize on money where-ever it was to be found ; he declared, that the money lodged in the banks should be quite secure under his protection, and free from all contribution to be exacted by him in any time coming,

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so that the banks might return to their former business with safety; and that he himself should contribute so far in the re-establishment of public credit, as to receive and issue bank-notes in payments. But neither of the banks were so simple as to be gulled with fair promises. Some time after, however, a demand was made of a considerable sum in payment of notes which the Chevalier was possessed of; and the directors were obliged, by threatnings of military execution, to provide the money.

As the bulk of Charles's army was composed of persons collected from the wildest and most savage parts of the highlands of Scotland; of persons who had upon all occasions been addicted to rob and plunder the low country; of people in poor circumstances, slaves to their chiefs, and bred up in Popery, or wretched ignorance of the blessings of civil liberty; so it is natural to suppose, that such a gang, when once in possession of an opulent city, and a fertile country, would be apt to plunder where-ever they could find booty. Accordingly divers robberies and burglaries were committed. Persons were robbed on the streets, and houses broken under cloud of night; so that it became unsafe to walk the streets, except in the day-time, and in the most frequented places: and these irregularities were not only committed in Edinburgh and the suburbs; but strolling parties were guilty of the like disorders in many places of the country: so that people groaned by reason of oppression. Proclamations were indeed issued by the pretender for preventing thefts and robberies: but these were not effectual to prevent the evil; and it was pretended that people who did not belong to the rebel-rout, were the most criminal actors. This might be true in a few instances; but it is certain, that many of the highlanders, and even some of their officers, from a strong itch for money, were guilty of divers robberies. Some of them, however, were very moderate in their demands. They would some-

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times present their piece ; and, upon being asked what they wanted, answer, " A penny or twopence ;" with which they would rest satisfied ; and sometimes a pinch of snuff would please them. They tell a story of a Quaker gentleman, who being robbed of a considerable sum in money and effects, and having complained to the pretender of his loss, he added, " George takes but a part ; but thou, Charles, takest all." This speech occasioned a smile ; but the poor gentleman never recovered his loss.

Besides what money the rebels could collect by pilferings and finings, (the famous practice of the royal brothers in the last century), their chief caused letters to be sent to the following persons, ordering them to repair to his secretary's office at Holyroodhouse, *viz.* to the magistrates of boroughs, in order to have the contributions paid by their respective towns ascertained ; to the collectors of the land-tax, the collectors and comptrollers of the customs and excise, and the factors on the forfeited estates, in order to produce their books, and to pay the balances due by them ; and threatening them, in case of refusal, with being treated as rebels. Great numbers found themselves obliged to comply ; while others, especially those most remote, laughed at the impotent threats. Several quantities of seized goods in the customhouse of Leith, and those of other port-towns on the frith of Forth, were sold out for the prince-pretender's use. And beside these rigorous exactions, loans were extorted from some moneyed persons, and bonds given, promising payment, on the pretender's being fully seated on the throne, on arriving at London, &c. And several Jacobites, who did not choose to espouse his cause openly, for fear of the consequences, contributed large sums for his use.

After the rebels arrival in Edinburgh, the castle hung out a flag, fired some guns as a signal, and ordered the inhabitants not to appear on the castlehill. Charles desired nothing more earnestly than to possess himself

of that fortress ; but it was not in his power to accomplish his wishes. His ill success with the officers taken at Preston, had convinced him, that the officers of the royal army were men of honour, not to be seduced from their allegiance to their lawful sovereign ; and therefore, that he had no hopes of bribing the governors of the castle, to surrender it into his hands. He was grieved, however, to see large quantities of provisions carried in to the garrison every day, even in the face of his guards : he determined therefore to cut off those resources, and, if possible, starve the garrison. On the 29th of September, his guard at the weigh-house were ordered not to let any person pass or repass to or from the castle. In the evening Gen. Guest sent a letter to Provost Stewart, intimating, that, unless the communication between the city and castle was kept open as formerly, he would be obliged to make use of cannon for dislodging the rebel-guards. A respite was, however, obtained for that night. Next morning his deputies from the city waited on the Chevalier, and shewed him Gen. Guest's letter. He immediately gave them an answer in writing, importing, That he was equally surpris'd and concerned at the barbarity of the order for bringing distress upon the city, for not doing what was not in its power to do ; that should he be out of compassion to the city, remove his guards, the castle might with equal reason summon him to quit the town, and abandon the advantages which Providence had granted him ; that he should be heartily sorry for any mischief that might befall the city, and should make it his peculiar care to indemnify it in the most ample manner ; and that in the mean time he should make full reprisals upon the estates of all those who were in the castle, and even upon all who were known to be open abettors of the present government, if he were forced to it by such inhumanities. The governors of the castle had received orders from court to fire upon the rebels, if they offered to stop the communication between

between that fort and the city. The city finding no success from applications to the pretender, they had nothing left for it but to make the best terms with Gen. Guest they could obtain. After several meetings of the principal inhabitants, and as many deputations to the General, they at last obtained a respite for six days, in case no attack was made upon the castle, so as the city might have time to get a mitigation of the order from London: for which purpose an express was sent off.

The communication was kept open till the 1st of October; on the afternoon of which day the highland centinels fired several muskets; whether at the castle, or, as they themselves gave out, to frighten people that were carrying up provisions to it, is uncertain: but thereupon the castle fired a good many cannon and small shot, by which a highland centinel and a servant-maid were said to have been wounded. Next day Charles published a proclamation, importing, That being resolved that no communication should be open between the castle and town of Edinburgh during his residence in that capital, and to prevent the bad effects of reciprocal firing from thence and from his troops, whereby the houses and inhabitants of the city might innocently suffer; he therefore made public intimation, that none should pass, without a special pass, signed by his secretary, upon pain of death, either to resort to, or come from the castle, upon any pretence whatsoever, with certification, that any person convicted of having had any such intercourse, should immediately be carried to execution. A barbarous proclamation indeed! worthy a son of the church of Rome, one of whose characteristics is unrelenting cruelty and bloodshed. This cruel order incited the governors of the castle to fire upon the rebels where-ever they could be observed; by which means some innocent persons were killed and wounded.

The rebels not contented with the order above mentioned,

mentioned, took it into their heads to make nearer approaches to the castle. For, about the 2d of October, they fell to digging a trench at the back of the reservoir, and planting guards on the north side of the hill upon which the castle stands. But the cannon from the castle forced them to desist from the trench, and withdraw their guards. Several of the rebels were also killed. On the 3d, they placed a guard at the Well kirk, and another at Livingston's yards, in order to block up the castle more closely. But, that day, a single soldier slipped out, set fire to a house that defended the guard at the last-mentioned place, shot one of them dead, and returned safe. Soon after, a party sallied out, killed some more of the guard, took Robert Taylor, shoemaker in Edinburgh, styled a captain among the rebels, with a few men, prisoners, and put the rest to flight.

On the 4th, notice was given by Gen. Guelst to the possessors of houses on the north side of the street, below the castlehill, to remove, lest they should be burnt by the cannon-balls. A few hours after the notice, a terrible cannonading began. At night a party made a sally from the castle, and set fire to a foundry-house, and a dwelling-house which its occupiers had deserted behind both which parties of the rebels used to sculk in order to fire upon any that offered to go up to the castle. At the same time, the salliers threw up a trench across the castlehill; and, to prevent any interruption, scoured the street with cartridge-shot from some field pieces placed on the hill. Next day, the 5th, notwithstanding the alertness of the rebels, a considerable quantity of provisions was carried in to the garrison. About five that evening, a strong party of the rebels marched up to attack the party in the trench; but they retreated upon their approach, without losing a man. Some have affirmed, that, on this occasion, a number of the rebels were killed. All this day the firing from the castle was very smart, and several bullets came

down as far as the city-guard; so that nobody was safe to stand on the street. A few houses were shattered. This obliged the inhabitants of houses exposed to the danger to remove; and others, though in no danger, yet dreading harm, removed likewise: which occasioned some confusion.

Towards night, the pretended prince finding it in vain to proceed in the blockade of the castle, by which he could only lose men, and draw a general odium upon himself, issued a proclamation, which was published in the morning of the 6th, to the following effect: That it was with the greatest regret he was hourly informed of the murders committed upon the innocent inhabitants of the city, by the inhumane commanders and garrison of the castle, so contrary to all the laws of war, the truce granted to the city, and even exceeding the orders given upon this occasion; that, as he had threatened, he might justly proceed to use the powers which God had put into his hands, to chastise those who were instrumental in the ruin of the capital, by reprisals upon the estates and fortunes of those who warred against him; but that he thought it nowise derogatory to the glory of a prince, to suspend punishment, or alter a resolution, when thereby the lives of innocent men could be saved; that, in consequence of this sentiment, his humanity had yielded to the barbarity of his enemies; that the blockade of the castle was taken off, and the threatened punishment suspended. By this proclamation the pretended regent would fain shew himself a mild and magnanimous prince: but who sees not the vanity of the reasoning, the fallacy of the argument? He charges the governors of the castle with breaking the truce granted to the city, without reflecting, that the respite was granted upon the express condition that the castle was not attacked: and could the garrison tamely see trenches cast up, guards planted, and muskets fired, without repelling force by force? And because innocent people threw themselves in the way

way of danger, were the governors therefore barbarous? Humanity and mildness are much talked of, as if peculiar to one side; but were not the inhabitants warned to avoid the danger, before a single gun was fired? Upon the whole, Charles's conduct on all occasions gives too much ground to suspect, that his boasted humanity did not proceed so much from regard to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, as from a desire to save his own people, whom he perceived to be exposed to imminent danger in their ineffectual endeavours to block up the castle, and to give reputation to his cause by a shew of clemency. Four or five of the town-people were killed, and several wounded, during this mock-blockade: but though the rebels kept pretty much under cover, and said they did not suffer much; yet their loss was pretty considerable, as some of themselves confessed. Provisions were now carried in openly to the castle, to the grief and vexation of the high-land rebels, who however could not stop them.

On the 8th, Charles published a proclamation, inviting such of his friends as were disabled from joining him, by reason of age, broken constitutions, or otherwise, but disposed to assist him, to send to his secretary money, arms, and horses; which would be considered by him as a very seasonable and acceptable mark of their loyalty. This method of raising supplies, first introduced by the unfortunate Charles I. which, with other causes, brought him to an untimely end, was successfully practised on this occasion by his pretended great-grandson. The friends to passive obedience and non-resistance contributed, with an unsparing hand, whatever might strengthen their prince's interest. Next day, October 9. another proclamation was issued, forbidding all Peers and Commoners to pay obedience to the order of his Majesty summoning them to meet in parliament on the 17th. To this proclamation no regard was paid.

On the 10th a second manifesto was issued in
Charles's

Charles's name, said to have been wrote by Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, Advocate, who clandestinely associated himself with the rebels. It is a smooth and artful paper; but the fallacy of it was laid open in a pamphlet, intituled, *The Occasional Writer*, said to be written by an eminent Scotch lawyer. Notice will be taken of both papers in the sequel. Several other papers were printed in Edinburgh, in order to be dispersed through England; most of which were afterwards ignominiously burnt at London, along with the proclamation of August 22. before mentioned.

The news of the adventurer's reception and success in Scotland having reached the courts of Versailles and Madrid, they resolved to assist him with necessary supplies. Of several ships sent out for that purpose from France, only four got to Scotland in October. Two of them arrived at Montrose, and two at Stonehaven. They were loaded with money, artillery, small arms, ammunition, some officers, engineers, gunners, &c. Their ladings were brought to Edinburgh by the way of Alloa, four miles below Stirling; which passage the rebels had secured, by raising batteries and planting cannon on each side the river. A party who were escorting one of these convoys, were attacked, Oct. 30. at Alloa, by a detachment from the garrison of Stirling castle, under Capt. Abercrombie; when some of the rebels were wounded and made prisoners, and some cows, horses, baggage, arms, money, and letters, were taken, and carried into Stirling. On board one of the French ships came a person styled by the rebels *M. du Boyer*, and *the French ambassador*. When he afterwards surrendered to the Duke of Cumberland after the battle of Culloden, he took the title of *le Marquis de Guilles*, and designed himself *Captain in the marine regiment*. Several storeships destined for the highland army, were taken on their passage; one of which, a Spanish ship, called *the St Zio-roco*, of 12 guns, 4 swivels, and 60 men, laden with

2500 fufees and bayonets, 100 barrels of gun-powder, 150 quintals of musket-balls, some boxes of horse-shoes and flints, and seven chests of Spanish money, was carried into Bristol, by the *Trial* privateer, Oct. 7. But though Charles missed this rich prize, he received, by the four French ships, at least 14,000 stand of arms, and 80,000 l. in money: so that, without doubt, he had more arms than men to give them to.

About the 19th, between 2 and 300 of the soldiers who had been wounded at the late battle, were dismissed on promising not to carry arms against the Chevalier before January 1747. Others would not accept deliverance on these terms, and a good many stole away after they were cured.

Several parties from Perthshire, the highlands, and other northern parts, now began to join the rebels, in full hopes of accomplishing their enterprize. Some of those parties were headed by Lord Pitligo, old Glenbucket, Macinnon, Clunie, &c. persons naturally attached to the pretender, enemies by education and principle to the government, and whose conduct was, therefore, no way surprising. But there were others who engaged in this rebellious enterprize, quite contrary to the general expectation. The chief of these were William Earl of Kilmarnock, George Earl of Cromerty, and Simon Lord Lovat; noblemen who had been highly in favour with the government, who had received pensions, and whose behaviour, therefore, was a flagrant instance of ingratitude. Other instances of disloyalty may be found in the persons of Lord Lewis Gordon, second brother to the Duke of Gordon, who had served his Majesty as a lieutenant in the royal navy; of Mr Arthur Elphinston, (only brother of James Lord Balmerino, and to whose honours and estate he succeeded in January 1746), who had been a captain in Shannon's foot, threw up his commission, engaged in the rebellion in 1715, and though attainted, was
pardon'd

pardoned by his present Majesty; and of Lord Nairn, who, though also engaged in that rebellion, was pardoned as to life and estate. Such instances of disloyalty, ingratitude, nay perjury, are glaring evidences of a desperate resolution, and a bad cause.

As the rebels had from the beginning projected an expedition into England, in order, if possible, to expel the present royal family; they began early to prepare for it. All means were used to induce the clans to bring up their men; a regiment was raised in and about Edinburgh, composed of the dregs of the people, who were drenched in wickedness and want; a body of life-guards was formed, consisting of about 120 persons, and composed of writers, merchants, tradesmen, and Jacobite gentlemen's sons; money was raised by all methods, to the impoverishing of the country; a train of artillery, amounting to fifteen pieces of cannon, of three and four pounders, and one mortar, with great quantities of ammunition, and other military stores, was provided; in short, immense quantities of provisions, to serve them on their march, were got ready.

The rebel-army, who lay incamped at Duddingston since the battle of Preston, struck their tents about the middle of October, and were quartered in Edinburgh and the suburbs, Musselburgh, Dalkeith, &c. In view of their march, they seized horses, carts, corn, hay, &c. where-ever they could be found, and compelled a considerable number of men, with horses and carts, to hold themselves in readiness to carry their baggage. They also carried off a great number of the best horses they could find, belonging to gentlemen and farmers; so that few had any horses left for labouring their grounds. Some gentlemen and farmers had procured protections from the rebel secretary and officers; yet few of these protections were regarded; and if the sufferers offered to complain of the oppression, they were treated with disdain.

His Majesty's birthday had always been solemnized in Edinburgh, in a manner suited to the occasion: but, through the prevalence of the highland government, that solemnity was postponed this year, to the grief of the well-affected inhabitants. The garrison of the castle, however, celebrated it in the usual manner; and a great number of loyal subjects assembled on the north side of the castle-hill, and huzzaed at the firing of the cannon, to the mortification of the rebels.

That day there happened an unhappy tumult in Perth. Mr Oliphant of Gask had been appointed deputy-governor of that town, by the young pretender, and he had under him a guard of about dozen men, whose chief business was to take care of a quantity of arms, ammunition, &c. that were lodged in the council-house and tolbooth, in order to supply some men daily expected there. In the forenoon, about 100 tradesmens servants seized on the church and steeple, and, about mid-day, set the bells a-ringing, in order to celebrate the day. Gask sent orders to those employed in ringing the bells, to desist; but they would not comply. In the afternoon, the governor, with his guard, and three or four gentlemen in the pretender's interest, took possession of the council-house; and, towards night, were joined by seven north-country gentlemen and their servants, who were on their way to join the rebels at Edinburgh. Mean time bonfires were made on the streets; some loyal people illuminated their windows, and the mob run up and down the town, ordering all the inhabitants to follow their example, and began to break the windows in which candles were not put up, and to commit other outrages. Gask, vexed at these proceedings, about nine o' clock detached a party from the council-house, to disperse the mob, and put a stop to the rejoicings. The party fired upon and wounded three of the mob; who, in a rage, rushed in upon the detachment, wounded and disarmed most of them. The mob then placed guards at all the gates of the

town, took possession of the main-guard, and rung the fire-bell, in order to raise the whole town; by which means about 200 people were assembled, but none of any note. They sent a message to Galk in writing, requiring him to withdraw instantly, and deliver up the arms and ammunition in his custody to them. This being refused, hostilities began about two o'clock in the morning. The mob fired at the council-house from several quarters; by which a captain in the French service was killed, and three or four wounded. About five o'clock the mob dismissed. Of the latter four were wounded, one of whom died a few days after. Most of them fled. Next day about 60 of Lord Nairn's men came into the town, and soon after about 130 highlanders; who were a prodigious nuisance to the inhabitants.

All the other towns in Scotland, that were not overawed by the rebels, observed the King's birthday as usual. The rejoicings at London, and all over England, were more splendid than ever they had been.

An unlucky accident happened at the west gate of Edinburgh on the 27th. A coach with six horses, and four men on horseback, of whom the Earl of Dundonald was one, having come to that gate between eight and nine at night, the coachman called to those within to open the gate to the prince's friends. This call being overheard by the centinels on duty in the castle, they instantly fired three cannons loaded with cartridge-shot, by which a Glasgow hiter was killed, a woman in the coach wounded, the earl of Dundonald's horse shot under him, and one of the coach-horses wounded.

Before the rebels marched from Edinburgh, robberies became very frequent; so that repeated complaints were made to the Chevalier by the sufferers. He thereupon issued a proclamation, dated October 23. bearing, That whereas he was informed that several thefts and robberies had been committed in and about Edinburgh, by villains assuming the character of

soldiers in his army, as well as by others ; and where- as he was heartily disposed to discourage all such practices ; he therefore promised, that if any effects so stolen or robbed should be returned in three days after the date, no questions should be asked ; but that all persons in whose custody any such effects should be afterwards found, would be punished with the utmost rigour : And, for the more effectual detecting of robbers, &c. promising the discoverers 5 l. upon conviction of each offender. But this proclamation had no effect ; for the highlanders continued to rob and pilfer till the very day they left the city. One *Monro, alias Mac-cowny*, who, the rebels pretended, did not belong to their army, was shot for robbery, on the 16th ; as was one *Smith*, who had been forced into the service, for desertion, on the 17th.

During the residence of the rebels in Edinburgh, the passages of the river Forth, at Leith and Queensferry, were blocked up by his Majesty's ships.

The rebels having made the necessary preparations for their march into England, and having collected the greatest part of their forces at Musselburgh and Dalkeith, the Chevalier set out from Holyroodhouse, October 21. at six in the evening, and lodged that night at Pinkie. Next day he arrived at Dalkeith, and the same day the highlanders quite evacuated Edinburgh. The rear of their army left Dalkeith November 3d. They marched south in three columns ; one body by the way of Peebles and Moffat ; the middle column, by Lauder, Selkirk, and Hawick ; and the third, by Kelso. The young pretender was with this last column ; he marched on foot, with his target over his shoulder. They committed several disorders by the way, and particularly they killed a considerable number of deer belonging to the Marquis of Lothian. They were in very high spirits when they left Scotland, assuring their friends that they would behave as heroes, would force their way through all opposition, and had

no doubt of reaching St James's, London, by Christmas, where they would all be merry. But the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. Their high expectations were baulked, and their towering hopes defeated. The Prince-pretender, with his highland band, who marched into England, with the highest hopes of ascending the British throne, and surmounting all difficulties, is made to fly before a small party of regular troops sent against him, headed by a second William, Britain's deliverer. But we shall leave the rebel-army awhile, in order to relate some intervening transactions, too important to be passed over in silence.

At the time the young pretender arrived in Scotland, England was almost as destitute of troops as that kingdom; the King was in Hanover; all intelligences of the intended attempt were discredited, because it appeared too vain and audacious. Charles's surprising progress, however, soon awakened the people of England to a sense of the increasing danger. His Majesty arrived at a seasonable time, to the great satisfaction of all his faithful subjects. A noble spirit of zeal, courage, and activity, began soon to appear throughout the whole nation. The King was more anxious for the preservation of his people than that of his crown; and the people were devoted to the service, and ardent for the safety of their gracious sovereign, so remarkably brave in his person, so just in his principles, so faithful an observer of public faith, so merciful to delinquents, and so strict an adherer to the laws of his country, that not an instance could be pointed out, during his whole reign, wherein he made the least attempt on the liberty, the property, or religion of a single person; in fine, who had always considered the law of the land as the sure foundation of the prerogative of the crown, and the liberty of the subject. The nation was soon roused from its inactivity, and a zeal to defend those invaluable blessings, religion and liberty, was diffused thro' all ranks of men, from the peer to the plebeian. Indolence was awakened,

awakened, cowardice animated, avarice enlarged, and despondency conquered.

Orders were issued, immediately after the arrival of his Majesty, for the return of three battalions of the foot-guards, and seven regiments of foot, from Flanders; and 6000 troops were demanded from the States-General of the United Provinces, pursuant to treaty; which were readily granted. The city of London presented a loyal address to the King, September 10. in which they assured his Majesty of their readiness to sacrifice all that was dear and valuable to them in defence of his royal person and family. The court of lieutenancy had presented a similar address on the 9th. And on the 11th, the merchants of London went in a solemn cavalcade, of 160 coaches, to Kensington, and presented a loyal and dutiful address, assuring his Majesty, that they would continue to exert their utmost endeavours for the support of the public credit of the kingdom. Equally loyal addresses came up from every county and borough in the kingdom; so that nothing but the warmest professions of zeal and fidelity attended the court.

A grand council was held at Kensington, September 13. to which several general officers were called, and their opinions of what was necessary to be done in this critical conjuncture demanded. Orders were immediately issued to keep the trained bands of London in readiness, and to array the militia of Westminster; and instructions to the like effect were sent to all the lords lieutenants of the counties throughout the kingdom. An advertisement was published on the 14th by Field-Marshal John Earl of Stair, commander in chief of the forces in South Britain, declaring, That every man who should voluntarily engage to serve in the royal army, should be discharged from the service at the end of two years; and large offers were made to such as would enlist in the foot-guards. Many of the principal nobility, and several of the eminent gentlemen, offered their
service

service to their sovereign, for raising regiments in their respective counties. Their offers were accepted, and commissions issued to the Dukes of Montagu and Kingston, for levying each a regiment of light horse; and to the Dukes of Bedford, Bolton, Montagu, and Ancaster, the Marquis of Granby, the Earls of Halifax, Berkeley, and Cholmondeley, the Viscounts Falmouth and Harcourt, and the Lords Edgcumbe, Gower, and Herbert, to raise each a regiment of foot, consisting of 1000 men, for suppressing the rebellion. The inferior inhabitants were every where mutually active. But nothing could surpass the zeal of the county of York, which, animated by Dr Herring, the archbishop, led the way, by a noble association, for their mutual defence. It was signed at the castle of York, September 24. when the subscription amounted to 40,000 l.; in consequence of which forty-four companies of foot were raised; and a regiment of gentlemen-voluntiers, who formed a body of light cavalry, appeared in an uniform dress, styled themselves *the royal hunters*, and chose for their commander an accomplished officer, Maj.-Gen. Oglethorpe. The nobility and gentry of Cheshire associated to raise 2500 men; in which the famous Sir Watkyn Williams Wynne, who had been long suspected of a bias to a contrary interest, distinguished himself by a large subscription. In short, associations were formed, and large contributions made, in almost every town, county, and community. Nor were the bishops unconcerned spectators of the gathering storm. By circular letters to the clergy of their respective dioceses, they reminded them of the importance of discharging their duty at this time, by representing to their people the errors and mischief of Popery, and exciting them to loyalty and zeal in defence of the present happy constitution. Many spirited and pathetic discourses were published by the Protestant loyal clergy of all denominations, by which the friends of the government were encouraged, animated, and confirmed in their loyalty and service

and allegiance. The merchants of London, the most eminent and opulent in the kingdom, not only resolved to raise two regiments at their own expence; but, as there happened to be an extraordinary run upon the bank of England, promoted by Papists and Jacobites, they readily came to an agreement, Sept. 26. to support the public credit, by receiving bank-notes in payment of any sum to be paid to them, and by using their utmost endeavours to make all their payments in the same manner. This agreement was immediately signed by 1140 of the most eminent merchants, considerable traders, and proprietors of the public funds; which prevented the run on the bank, and defeated the collusive designs of the national enemies.

On the 17th of September arrived in the Thames from Holland, three battalions of Dutch troops, as did on the 20th other three battalions. The same night Count Maurice of Nassau, their commander, arrived at London. Another Dutch battalion landed at Berwick on the 23d; as did, the same day, at Gravesend, Grays, and Blackwall, from Flanders, three battalions of foot-guards, and seven regiments of foot, British troops; and more were immediately ordered over, with several squadrons. His R. H. the Duke arrived from Brussels at London, October 1.; and on the 25th arrived in the Thames, from Flanders, four troops of Ligonier's horse, Bland's dragoons, a detachment of the foot-guards which had served at Ostend, and four regiments of foot: and about the same time seven battalions landed at Newcastle and Berwick, with some Dutch companies.

About the end of September, the King ordered a strong body of troops to march to Scotland, under the command of Field-Marshal Wade. They were appointed to assemble at Doncaster, thirty miles south of York. The Marshal arrived from London at Doncaster, October 9. where he continued till the 21st, and then proceeded to Newcastle, where he arrived on the

29th. His army consisted of his own and Montagu's regiments of horse, St George's dragoons, and the Yorkshire royal hunters; and the regiments of foot of Howard, Barrel, Wolfe, Pulteney, Blakeney, Cholmondeley, Fleming, Monro, Battereau, second battalion of the royal Scots, and all the Dutch troops. He had as generals under him, Count Maurice of Nassau, Lt-Generals Lord Tyrawley and Wentworth, Maj.-Generals Oglethorpe, Howard, and Huske, and Brigadiers Mordaunt and Cholmondeley. His Excellency, the day after his arrival at Newcastle, published a proclamation, promising a general pardon to all such of the rebels as should return to their habitations on or before the 12th of November, and become faithful to his Majesty and his government. Copies of this proclamation were pasted up in Edinburgh on the 5th, and dispersed all over the kingdom: but this act of clemency produced no effect on the hardened rebels.

As the rebels were in motion to leave Edinburgh by the time M. Wade arrived at Newcastle, he resolved to continue there, till he should see how the young pretender would direct his march; especially as it was absolutely necessary to cover Newcastle, being a place of the greatest consequence, the loss of which would be severely felt by the city of London.

The parliament met on the 16th of October, when his Majesty acquainted them of the unnatural rebellion that had broke out in Scotland, and craved their advice and assistance for the suppression of it. Both houses presented addresses, expressing the strongest detestation of the rebellion, and the warmest attachment to his Majesty's person and government. The Commons forthwith suspended the *Habeas corpus* act, and several suspected persons were taken up. The trained-bands of London were reviewed by his Majesty; the county-regiments were completed; the volunteers began vigorously to learn the exercise of arms; and the whole English nation, as if animated by one soul, rose up to

oppose the invading pretender. The government being apprehensive of a descent from France, ordered squadrons to be stationed on the eastern and western coasts, to watch the motions of the French from Brest to Dunkirk. Adm. Vernon, a brave and vigilant officer, got the command of a squadron in the Downs, to observe the enemy's motions in the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogne; and war-ships were so disposed along the coasts both of Scotland and England, that these kingdoms were protected from any invasions, either from the coast of Britany, Normandy, or Picardy. Single ships from France might escape the vigilance of the cruisers, as several did; but no fleet could pass unobserved. Adm. Vernon's cruisers actually took several ships, loaded with officers, soldiers, and ammunition, destined for the service of the pretender, both on the coasts of Scotland and England. So that the government's apprehension of an invasion was no chimera, as some represented it to be. Certain it is, that Charles was incited to an expedition into England, by assurances from the French court, that they would send 12,000 men to make an invasion in Kent, under the pretender's second son Henry, who was by this time arrived in France, and also 6000 men to land in Scotland, under George late Earl Marischal; and by promises of a considerable insurrection in his favour, by the Papists and Jacobites in England. And it was undoubtedly in expectation of all these fine things taking effect, that he lingered so long in Edinburgh, evidently contrary to his interest: for had he made an irruption into England immediately after the battle of Preston, he might have marched to the very gates of London, almost without resistance; and his English friends would have crowded to his standard. But the promises of the court of Versailles made him spin out the time, till the government were prepared to give him a proper reception, if he should attempt to break into England. Either the promises of the French were sincere, but their effect pre-

vented

vented by the vigilance of the British cruisers; or they were fallacious, calculated only to amuse the young pretender. The Jacobites do now universally believe the latter to be the case; and curse both the French King and the French nation, for deceiving them. However the case stood, certainly the over-ruling hand of Providence is to be regarded; which on this, as on many other occasions, befriended the British nation, by baffling the attempts of her enemies.

As M. Wade had now assembled his army at Newcastle, consisting of about 3000 British troops, besides 6000 Dutch, attended with a train of artillery, of 20 field-pieces; Charles, in order to amuse him, and disguise his real design, caused a part of his army, on leaving Dalkeith, Nov. 3. take the route to Kelso, as if he designed to bend his force by the eastern road. On his arrival at Kelso on the 4th, in order further to amuse M. Wade, he sent a message to Wooller, ordering quarters to be provided for 4000 foot and 1000 horse. Nevertheless, the adventurer with his division, crossed the Tweed on the 6th, and took the road to Hawick. He marched thence very speedily, and crossed the river Esk, which divides Scotland from England, on the 9th, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Carlisle in the evening. Here he was joined by the other two corps of his army. That which took the route by Moffat had the artillery with it. His army made a formidable appearance by the way. Part of the country through which he passed, had perhaps never seen a soldier in his military accoutrements, which are natively calculated to strike a terror into the minds of peasants. But to see wild, unpolished savages in the highland dress, armed not only with muskets and bayonets, but broad swords, those murdering weapons, and targets, with braces of pistols stuck in their belts, the terror thence arising must be great. Perhaps some of the English militia, upon viewing the highlanders from the banks of the Esk, might be as much confounded

at the sight, as the ancient Romans were upon observing the monstrous size of the Germans, and be as much afraid to come to blows with them, especially as their prince was clad in the same attire.

Upon this enterprising youth's approach to Carlisle, all the militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland, in number between 6 and 700, afraid to look him in the face, took sanctuary in that city, determined however to defend it. On the 9th, a small party of the rebels appeared on Stanwix bank, a hill close by Carlisle. They were fired upon from the castle, and soon retreated. At three o' clock after noon, the Mayor received a message, to provide billets for 13,000 men that night; which he refused; and at night the city was surrounded by the rebels, computed to be 9000 men. Perhaps the Mayor's terror magnified the rebels number. Next day, the 10th, the rebels made divers motions round the city, during which the cannon on the walls and the castle were not silent. At three after noon, the Mayor received a message in writing, addressed, *For the Mayor of Carlisle*, and subscribed, *Charles P. R.* in the following words. "*Charles Prince of Wales, &c.* Being come to recover the King our father's just rights, for which we are arrived with all his authority, we are sorry to find that you should prepare to obstruct our passage. We therefore, to avoid the effusion of English blood, hereby require you to open your gates, and let us enter, as we desire, in a peaceable manner; which if you do, we shall take care to preserve you from any insult, and set an example to all England of the exactness with which we intend to fulfil the King our father's declarations and our own. But if you shall refuse us entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such means as Providence has put into our hands; and then it will not perhaps be in our power to prevent the dreadful consequences which usually attend a town's being taken by assault. Consider seriously of this, and let me have your answer within the space of two hours; for

we shall take any further delay as a peremptory refusal, and take our measures accordingly."

To this message the Mayor returned no other answer, but by firing the cannon upon the rebels. Next day, the 11th, their main body filed off towards Brampton, about seven miles east on the road to Newcastle; where, at a council of war, it was agreed to return and besiege Carlisle, which they expected their very appearance would have intimidated to surrender. For this end the rebels employed the 11th and 12th in refreshing their men, and in cutting down wood in Corby and Warwick parks, for scaling-ladders, fascines, and carriages; and, on the 13th, about three after noon, they returned before Carlisle; from whence the garrison began to fire upon them. The trenches were opened that evening, under the direction of Mr Grant, chief rebel engineer; and were carried on so expeditiously, that by the 15th, in the morning, a battery was erected within forty fathoms of the wall. All this time the cannon and small arms both from the town and the castle played very briskly; but with no other loss (say the rebels) than of a French gunner and a private man killed. The Duke of Perth and the Marquis of Tullibardine, with a considerable body of troops, covered the workmen; and these noblemen were so keen for the service, that they wrought at the trenches in their shirts. On the 15th, when the battery was opened, and the scaling-ladders were bringing forward, in order to an assault, a white flag was displayed from the walls. Whereupon a deputation was sent to the young pretender at Brampton, and the town was agreed to be delivered up, on condition that the garrison should be at liberty to retire where-ever they pleased, upon their engaging not to carry arms against the rebels for a twelvemonth. This capitulation was said to be contrary to the opinion and protestation of Col. Durand, commandant of the castle, who endeavoured to defend that fort, but was obliged to abandon it, through the dastardly desertion of the

the men under his command. He, however, found means to nail up ten pieces of cannon on the ramparts. It was said, that at this time the rebels exercised great severity to the country-people, put them under military execution, and seized all able-bodied men, horses, and carriages; fired at such as endeavoured to fly, and actually killed some innocent people. The surrender of Carlisle was thus accounted for: That for seven days before, neither the officers nor common men of the garrison got scarce an hour's rest, being perpetually alarmed by the rebels; and many of them were so sick through their great fatigue, that, being out of all hopes of a speedy relief, they absolutely refused to hold out any longer; and multitudes went off every hour over the walls, so that the officers of some companies were left with not above three or four men. As to Col. Durand, he had prevailed on 400 of the militia to join with the invalids in defending the castle; but they basely deserted him next morning; so that having no more than 80 men left, many of them extremely infirm, and the rebels threatening to destroy the whole town by fire and sword, if he persisted to hold out any longer, he was, however reluctantly, obliged to give up the castle, with all the effects in it.

Thus Charles made himself master of the first town he came to in England, a town pretty strong, well fortified, and defended by the whole militia of two counties. But every body must see that it was poorly defended, and basely surrendered. If Edinburgh, a city without fortifications, was given up to a handful of highland savages, without firing a gun; Carlisle, the key to England on the western side, merits as little honour; for it was much stronger, had a more numerous garrison, and pretended to be quite free from a Jacobite bias. The Mayor, before the return of the rebels from Brampton, could pique himself on his having done more than Edinburgh, nay all Scotland: Very true, indeed; for he surrendered a strong and impos-

tant fortrefs; which is what the rebels never got possession of in Edinburgh, nor in all Scotland.

Carlisle being thus cowardly given up, without firing a gun, the Duke of Perth took possession of it, in the afternoon of the 15th, in name of his pretended prince, and immediately caused the rebel-manifesto's be read; at which ceremony the mayor and aldermen were, by the articles of the capitulation, obliged to assist; a mortification justly due to their pusillanimity and cowardice. The young pretender made his public entry on the 19th, under a general salvo of all the artillery. Here he got all the arms belonging to the militia, with 1000 stand that were lodged in the castle; besides a great number of cannon, mortars, cannonballs, granadoes, bombs, pickaxes, and other military stores. He found in the castle many of the broad swords that had been taken at Preston in 1715, and about 100 barrels of gunpowder. All the valuable effects which the neighbouring gentlemen and principal inhabitants had lodged in the fort, as a place of security, fell into his hands; and several soldiers who had enlisted in the highland corps after the battle of Preston, had deserted that service, and fled to this city, were delivered up to him, and some of them sacrificed to his rage.

Charles had now, by this important capture, gained a place of retreat in case of a defeat, added lustre to his arms, and given new hopes to his troops. Every thing smiled upon him, opposition fell before his standard, and success crowned his enterprises. If the rest of the campaign shall be equally successful, how mighty a hero must the pretended representative of the Stuarts be? Let us see the event.

All this time M. Wade lay at Newcastle, where the inclemency of the season, and the fatigues the troops had undergone in Flanders, and their crowded situation when at sea, brought on a general indisposition and a great mortality among his men; so that they died by

by fifties in a week. Hearing, however, of the return of the rebels from Brampton, in order to attack Carlisle, the Marshal determined to march to its relief, and give battle to the rebels. He accordingly decamped from Newcastle on the 16th, and marched across the country as far as Hexham, sixteen miles west of Newcastle, where he arrived on the 17th, at midnight, after a fatiguing march, the fields being covered with snow, and the roads almost impassable. Here he received the amazing news of the surrender of Carlisle, and of the rebels preparing for a march into Lancashire; he therefore immediately set out on his return to Newcastle, where he arrived on the 22d, having lost many of his best troops by sickness and death. The Marshal had been ordered to cover Newcastle and Yorkshire; and this was the reason that he did not interrupt the rebels in their march, nor endeavour to intercept them: and he well knew that the government, who were abundantly alert, and particularly attentive to all the motions of the rebels, would assemble an army, in the event of their marching further into England, from which it would be difficult to escape; and if they should retreat, he would be at hand to intercept them, and as it were inclose them between two fires.

And indeed the Marshal was not mistaken in his views: for, as there was a possibility that the rebels might penetrate into England through Lancashire, and throw the inland parts of the kingdom into the same confusion as they had done the borders, about the 16th of November, the King ordered a body of troops, consisting of three regiments of horse, two of dragoons, and fifteen of foot, to march towards Lancashire, under the command of Lt-Gen. Sir John Ligonier; the general rendezvous to be at Litchfield. Sir John set out for that place on the 21st. Two battalions of the foot-guards marched to join this army on the 23d; and the Duke of Cumberland was appointed commander in chief. A third battalion of the guards, with Cob-

ham's

ham's dragoons, got orders to march about the 26th; and his R. H. set out from St James's that day, to put himself at their head. Thus there were two armies on the field against the prince-pretender, one commanded by one of the oldest officers in the kingdom, the other by an active vigilant prince, who acquired honour by his defeat at Fontenoy, and was the idol of the British nation, and whose conduct on this occasion did not belie his exalted character, as will appear from the sequel.

One would have thought, that the young Italian, observing the preparations made to oppose his progress, would have immediately retreated, with his mountaineers, to their barren hills, rather than, by a rash march into an unknown country, in general disaffected to his interest, expose his whole army to almost inevitable ruin. It must be allowed, he was a youth of surprising courage and amazing intrepidity, who could, with a handful of undisciplined savages, like the Russian Cossacks and Calmucks, dare to march into an enemy's country, in the face, as it were, of two armies, and hope, by their means, to possess himself of the sovereign power. Perhaps he thought himself a second Alexander the Great, who had to combat only with armies enervated by ease and luxury; or was possessed with the enthusiastic bravery of the bastard of Normandy, who actually achieved the conquest of England in the face of a formidable opposition; and hoped for the like success that had attended those ancient heroes. Whatever his thoughts were, he determined to improve his advantages, unterrified by opposition, undismayed by the number of his increasing foes. The expectation of wearing the imperial crown of three kingdoms, famous throughout the world, and of being ranked among the renowned heroes of antiquity, induced him to undertake the rashest enterprise that perhaps had ever entered into any mortal's head, unless we except

some desperate attempts rather renowned in history than credible.

Charles the pretended regent having got a few recruits, supplied his troops with some necessaries, and left a small garrison in Carlisle, of about 100 men, under the command of John Hamilton, formerly one of the Duke of Gordon's factors, who was constituted lieutenant-governor under the Duke of Perth, marched thence on the 21st, having sent a party of horse forward to Penrith on the 18th. He arrived at Kendal on the 22d, and at Lancaster on the 24th. From thence he proceeded to Preston, a town famous in the British annals for the defeat of a party who had taken up arms in behalf of his father in 1715, some of whom now visited it a second time in the same quality, where he quartered on the 27th. He moved thence to Manchester, a town replete with Papists and Jacobites, where he established his head-quarters on the 29th. Here he was joined by about 200 men, collected from different counties, whom he formed into a regiment, and gave the command of it to one Francis Townley, who had been formerly in the French service. He had now marched a hundred miles in eight days, in an excessive cold season, through roads covered with frost and snow. Manchester received him with all marks of affection, and celebrated his arrival with illumination and other public rejoicings; an honour that had never been bestowed upon him in Scotland, though unjustly styled by our brethren of England a rebellious nation. During this expeditious march, the rebels took care to publish their prince's declarations, and collect the public money, in all the considerable places through which they passed; and to strike terror into some of the inhabitants, and to draw others into their service, they represented their strength to be much more formidable than it really was. By the best computation that could be made of their number at different places, the whole of their army did not exceed

7000 men; though, by their way of marching, and their messages for preparing quarters, they would fain be thought vastly more numerous.

The rebels having now advanced a good way into England, found all their hopes of an insurrection there to be vain; there was no appearance of a French invasion; their sanguine wishes were frustrated; discord prevailed in their counsels; and dangers surrounded them on every hand. What should they do? To force a march into Wales, a mountainous country, would be too dangerous a step; especially as the bridges had all been broke down on that side, and the roads rendered almost impassable: if they should retreat back into Scotland, it was in M. Wade's power to intercept them; and if they continued to advance southward to London, they had the bare hopes of escaping by the Duke's army, and approaching the metropolis, where they expected to be joined by a shoal of Papists and other disaffected persons. Their situation was, therefore, every way dangerous: but the thoughts of escaping by the Duke brought them to a resolution of advancing southward. Accordingly having rested only one day in their beloved Manchester, they set out, Nov. 30. from thence for Derby, in two divisions; which next day united at Macclesfield. They resumed their march, Dec. 2. in two columns; one of which entered Congleton, and the other passed near Sawfworth. On the 3d, the one division proceeded to Leake in Staffordshire, and the other to Ashbourn in Derbyshire; from whence, on the 4th, they continued their respective routes, and united at Derby, about 100 miles N. W. of London, and 108 S. of Carlisle. This was the *ne plus ultra* of their desperate expedition.

Mean time, M. Wade, hearing of the rebels marching southward, resolved also to direct his route the same way, and to set out Nov. 24. His Excellency was incamped at Persbridge on the 28th, designing to

proceed through Yorkshire into Lancashire: but, we shall find, the mountaineers were too nimble for him. The Marshal had got to Wetherby Dec. 5.; and he reached Doncaster on the 8th, with the cavalry, and the foot were at Ferrybridge.

During all these transactions let us view the Duke of Cumberland's motions. His R. H. arrived at Litchfield Nov. 28. and found the troops cantoned from Tamworth to Stafford, for the space of nineteen miles. His army consisted of three battalions of the guards, the old regiments of foot of Howard, Sowle, Johnson, Douglas, Sempill, Bligh, and Skelton, and the new regiments of Gower, Montagu, Halifax, Granby, and Cholmondeley; Bland's dragoons, four troops of Ligonier's horse, and the new horse of Montagu and Kingston. He had as Generals to assist him, Lt-Generals Richmond and St Clair, Maj.-Generals Skelton and Bland, and Brigadiers Sempill, Bligh, and Douglas; and had 30 pieces of cannon. He immediately assembled the army at Stafford, posted a detachment of horse at Newcastle under Line, ten miles north of Stafford; and, on the 2d of December, he proceeded with the main body to Stone, in expectation of meeting the prince-pretender on his march from Congleton. But having got notice that the rebels were advancing to Derby, his R. H. was obliged to return to Stafford, resolving thence to retire towards Northampton, in order to intercept them in their route if they should continue to penetrate. Hearing, however, that the rebel-chief continued at Derby, the Duke halted, and incamped his army on Meriden common, in the neighbourhood of Coventry: for the rebels, in turning off by Ashbourn to Derby, had gained a march between him and London. And had the adventurer proceeded with his usual expedition, he might notwithstanding the Duke's vigilance, have forced his way to the neighbourhood of London; which he could not, however, have effected without hazarding a battle.

etc; as his Majesty, ever attentive to the preservation of his kingdoms, had resolved to assemble all the forces he could collect on Finchley common, and to take the field in person, accompanied by the Earl of Stair. To this bold step his Majesty was induced, from the apprehension that the rebels might outfly the other two armies sent against them. For this purpose the guards, the old highland regiment, and some other troops marched, Dec. 7. to Highgate, Enfield, and Barner; and a large train of artillery was sent from the tower. But the retreat of the rebels superseded those measures.

These commotions occasioned a general consternation. A proclamation was issued, Dec. 6. for putting the laws in execution against Jesuits and Popish priests, and promising a reward for apprehending them in London or Westminster, or within ten miles of the said city; and several were taken up; the militia of London and Middlesex were ordered to be in readiness to march; double guards were posted at the city-gates, and alarm-signals appointed; the city-volunteers were formed into a regiment; as were several gentlemen of the law, under the command of the Lord Chief Justice Willes, by the title of *The Associated regiment of the law*, &c.; the Spitalfield weavers, and other communities, engaged in associations; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependents for the service of the government. Notwithstanding all these precautions and appearances of unanimity, some have alledged that fear and spiritless dejection overwhelmed the trading part of the city, and those concerned in the public funds. These gentlemen, it is said, reposed no confidence in military preparations; the news of an invasion from France, the terror of an insurrection of the Roman Catholics and Jacobites, with the reflections that the highlanders, of whom a terrible idea was now conceived, were within four or five days march of the capital, alarmed them exceedingly; they prognosticated

slicated a revolution, and foreboded their own ruin wrapped up in it; and horror and despair were painted in their very faces: while the slaves to passive obedience exulted in insolent hope, which they openly displayed; and the sons of neutrality beheld the scene with the most calm indifference, unconcerned whether George or the pretender should carry the day. It is certain, that the city was in very great confusion, on account of the rapid progress of the rebels;

Matters did not long continue in this state of suspense. The young adventurer found, that his hopes of a general insurrection of the people of England in his favour were vain, as not a creature had joined him, except the few who had insisted at Manchester; there were no motions among the Welsh, who, he had been made to believe, were ready to crowd to his standard; the intended descent was frustrated by the vigilance of our men of war; faction prevailed in his court, and murmuring broke out among his officers; the clans saw the enterprise to be an idle chimera, and refused to obey orders: the Chevalier himself was agitated with terror, on seeing himself, with a handful of men, hemmed in between two armies, in an inclement season, and in a country ready to expel him. He knew that to proceed, he must venture a battle, in which a defeat would issue in the certain ruin of himself and all his party. In this extremity a council of war was summoned; where contrary opinions were given. Some were for advancing forwards; others for fighting the Duke, and outbraving what resistance should be made near London; but the majority, more dispassionate, and consulting the dictates of sober reason, were for an immediate retreat back into Scotland. Accordingly, on the 6th of December, they precipitately abandoned Derby, disguising, however, their retreat by their motions; and marched with such celerity through Ashbourn, Leake, Manchester, Leigh, and Wigan, that they reached Preston on

the 12th, having travelled upwards of eighty miles in six days.

The Duke of Cumberland, having received certain intelligence, on the 7th, of the rebels retreat, put himself at the head of all the horse and dragoons, with 1000 foot volunteers, in order to stop the rebels till the rest of his army came up, or to harass them in their flight: but the highlanders marched with so much expedition, that his R. H. could not overtake even their rear, till after their departure from Preston. The rebels, however, were in a very dangerous situation; as the people of the country through which they passed, harassed their rear, and picked up a number of stragglers; the Duke was close at their heels, and M. Wade was on their flank: but they outran the Marshal; for he was not able to reach Wakefield before Dec. 10. where he learned that Charles was advancing between Manchester and Preston, so that it was impossible to come up with them: he therefore returned to his old post at Newcastle, after having detached Maj.-Gen. Oglethorpe, on the 11th, with his horse and dragoons, and the Yorkshire hunters, to join the Duke of Cumberland. This expert officer reached Preston on the 13th, having performed a laborious march of 100 miles, over ice and snow, and through a dangerous and almost impassable road, in less than three days: a pregnant instance of the spirited zeal of this gallant commander for the public service.

The rebels quitted Preston early on the 13th, just four hours before the arrival of the Georgia rangers; and continued their flight with such rapidity, that they passed through Lancaster in the night of the 14th, and arrived at Kendal in Westmoreland on the 15th, though Lord Elcho, who commanded the rebels rear-guard, had two or three skirmishes, between Preston and Lancaster, with some of the party commanded by Gen. Oglethorpe. The militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland were raised, to harass them in their rear;

rear; the bridges were ordered to be broke down, the roads to be damaged, and the beacons to be lighted to alarm the country. There was a small skirmish at Kendal, between a party of the rebels commanded by the Duke of Perth, and some of the townspeople, in which one of the latter was killed and two were taken prisoners; and of the townspeople an hostler and a shoemaker were killed.

The rebels continuing to retreat with such precipitation, that many of them threw away their arms upon the road, and the Duke with Gen. Oglethorpe pursuing with the utmost celerity; his Royal Highness came up with their rear, on the 18th at night, after a ten hours march, to the north of Lowtherhall, which the rebels immediately abandoned, and threw themselves into the village of Clifton; where they had great advantages from the situation of the place, and from some broken walls which served them instead of intrenchments. His Royal Highness immediately caused a party of the dragoons dismount, and attack the village. This they did with so much bravery, that after a warm dispute, which lasted near an hour, the rebels were driven from their defensible situation, and owed their preservation to the darkness of the night; having had a good many killed, though they endeavoured to conceal their number, by carrying most of them off. About 70 of them were taken prisoners, among whom was Capt. George Hamilton of Redhouse.

Of the dragoons twelve men were killed and twenty-four wounded, among which last was Lt-Col. Heywood of Bland's dragoons, Capt. East, and Cornets Owen and Hamilton. The dismounted dragoons were not above 300, whereas the rebels rear guard consisted of 1000 of their best men; so that the odds was more than three to one.

The rebels gave a very odd account of this skirmish. They said, that the King's troops formed on a moor within half cannon-shot of the village of Clifton; that

about an hour after sunset, several dragoons dismounted, came to the bottom of the moor, and lined some hedges and ditches next to it; that there was a pretty smart fire on both sides for above half an hour; that, at last, the dragoons firing very fast, Lord George Murray sent Cluny Macpherson's battalion down upon them sword in hand, with orders to drive them from their posts, but not to advance upon the moor; that the Macphersons, after passing two hedges, drove the dragoons from the third, and then returned to their former posts, with the loss of twelve men only, who had run up the moor, and were amissing; that the loss of the dragoons was uncertain, but judged not to be under a hundred; that, night being come on, both sides retired; and that thereafter the King's troops did not come in sight of the rebels. An account altogether incredible: for the rebels could not deny that they were drove from Clifton, and that they immediately fled to Penrith; and it is certain, that they had a considerable number killed, and seventy taken prisoners. And their computation of the loss on the King's side is equally false: for the most authentic account states that at no more than 12 killed and 24 wounded; though the rebels shewed the greatest inclination to sacrifice the whole dragoons; for when some of the latter fell, the rebels cried out, *No quarter; murder them*; and some of them received several wounds after they were down. And if it be true, that in this skirmish the rebels had the advantage, how easy would it have been for them to have stood their ground at Clifton, and to have fought the pursuers, who consisted only of some horse and dragoons, and 1000 foot; a number far inferior to the rebels? But this skirmish gave them such an idea of the King's troops, that, upon hearing of it, they immediately took to their heels. For, As soon as the news of this scuffle at Clifton reached Penrith, where the main body of the rebels was, they were under such a fearful apprehension of being overtaken,

overtaken, that they resolved to leave the town that very night, though they had at first intended to stay there till the next morning. They set out thence near ten o'clock at night, directing their route towards Carlisle; where they arrived at nine next day, the 19th, excessively fatigued, and in terrible confusion, having marched above 150 miles in twelve days, and at a most uncomfortable time of the year. It was so dark, and the country so covered, that it was not possible for the Duke to pursue them that night; and the troops were so fatigued with the forced marches they had made through very bad roads, that they were obliged to halt at Penrith on the 19th. That day and the next his Royal Highness was joined by 1000 volunteers from his own army, who had marched close after the horse and dragoons, having been provided in horses by the gentlemen of Staffordshire, and other counties through which they passed. St George's dragoons got to Hesket, within eight miles of Carlisle, on the evening of the 19th, where they lay that night and all the next day. And M. Wade having arrived at Newcastle on the 20th, detached 1000 foot and 50 horse, to reinforce the corps under the Duke.

The rebels, however, did not think proper to continue at Carlisle. They staid there only one night; and having reinforced the garrison, chiefly with their English recruits, and left all their cannon there, except three pieces, they departed thence early on the 20th, and pursued their march towards Scotland.

As the Duke expected, that the rebels would have staid some time at Carlisle, in order to refresh themselves after their fatiguing march; and as he was not in a condition to pursue them further till the 21st, when he was joined by the last of the foot; so he set out from Penrith at four in the morning of that day, marching in three columns: on his march, his Royal Highness received the news of the rebels having quitted Carlisle, and left in it only 3 or 400 men, under

the command of John Hamilton, above mentioned. About noon he came in sight of the city, and caused it to be immediately invested. As the rebel-garrison, upon the Duke's approach, fired their cannon upon every body who appeared in their sight, and seemed determined to make a vigorous defence, his Royal Highness sent for a train of battering cannon from Whitehaven. By the 28th, ten pieces of cannon having arrived, a battery of six eighteen-pounders was erected, with which he began at noon to batter the four-gun battery of the town. On the 29th the firing was abated for want of shot, till towards evening, when a fresh supply arriving, it was renewed very briskly for two hours, which very much shook the walls. That evening a fellow got over the walls, and was brought to the Duke. He delivered two letters; one for his Royal Highness; the other for the commander of the Dutch troops, supposed to be with his army. They were from Sir Francis Geoghegan, who styled himself *Commander of the French artillery, and of the French garrison at Carlisle*; and the contents were, to summon the commander of the Dutch to retire with his troops from the English army, under pretence of the capitulation of Tournay.

The night of the 29th was spent in raising a new battery of three eighteen-pounders, which was completed by the morning. But as soon as the old battery began to fire that morning, the rebels hung out a white flag. The battery then ceased; and they called over the walls, that they had two hostages ready to be delivered at the English gate. His Royal Highness then sent Col. Conway and Lord Bury with two messages to the rebels, importing, "that he would make no exchange of hostages with rebels; and desiring to know what they meant by hanging out the white flag:" and to inform the French officer, "that there were no Dutch troops there, but enough of the King's to chastise the rebels, and those who dared to give them any assistance."

ance." Col. Conway and Lord Bury returned, with a paper signed by Governor Hamilton, "desiring to know what terms his Royal Highness would be pleased to give them, upon surrender of the city and castle; and which known, his Royal Highness should be duly acquainted with their ultimate resolution; the white flag being hung out on purpose to obtain a cessation of arms for concluding such a capitulation." The two aids-de-camp were thereupon sent back with the terms, signed by Lt-Gen. Charles Duke of Richmond, by order of the Duke, importing, "That all the terms his Royal Highness could or would grant to the rebel-garrison were, That they should not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the King's pleasure: that if they consented to these terms, the governor and principal officers were to deliver themselves up immediately; and the castle, citadel, and all the gates of the town, were to be taken possession of forthwith by the King's troops: that all the small arms were to be lodged in the town-guard room; and the rest of the garrison were to retire to the cathedral, where a guard was to be placed over them: and that no damage was to be done to the artillery, arms, or ammunition." The governor and garrison accepted the terms, recommending themselves to his Royal Highness's clemency, and beseeching his Royal Highness to interpose for them with his Majesty. On which Brig. Bligh took possession of the place, with 1100 foot and 120 horse. There were taken in it Col. Townley, with 19 of his officers, and 93 of his men, all English, of the Manchester regiment; Gov. John Hamilton, with 17 officers, 1 surgeon, and 256 men, all Scotch; Sir Francis Geoghegan, Col. Strickland, Sir John Arbuthnot, a serjeant, and four private men, all in the French service; amounting in whole, officers included, to 388 men, besides James Cappock, of Lancashire, made by the young pretender Bishop of Carlisle. The
artillery

artillery taken was sixteen pieces of different bores, all brass, but none exceeding four-pounders.

Thus the prince-pretender lost all footing in England. He had entered it with the highest hopes of success, saying, "I will pursue, I will overtake, I will mount the throne;" but fled with the utmost precipitation, without being attacked, and sacrificed near 400 of his people to his safety. He used always to march on foot at the head of his men, had on a light plaid, belted about with a blue sash, a grey wig, and a blue bonnet, with a white rose in it, and was usually pretty cheerful. When in Lancashire, having wore a hole in one of his shoes, he ordered a blacksmith to make a thin plate of iron, and fasten it to the bottom of the sole; which when done, he paid him, and said, "My lad, thou art the first blacksmith that ever shod the son of a king."

Some writers have styled the rebels retreat one of the most surprising that ever was performed; and have averred, that the most remarkable circumstance of their expedition, was the moderation and regularity with which those ferocious people conducted themselves in a country abounding with plunder; that no violence was offered, no outrage committed, and that they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine; that notwithstanding the excessive cold, the hunger and fatigue to which they must have been exposed, they left behind no sick nor stragglers; but retired with deliberation, and carried off their cannon in face of their enemy. And the rebels, in their printed account of their expedition into England, said, "that by all accidents, such as death by sickness, and people who had gone a-plundering (which they confessed could not be entirely prevented) and were never more heard of, they did not lose forty men in their expedition, including the twelve at Clifton," mentioned above.—It will only be necessary, in opposition to these accounts, to give a few particulars, extracted from the rebels

rebels proceedings published at the time in the London Gazette, and from other authentic documents. "Letters from Derby, dated Dec. 8 say, that the rebels behaved tolerably well in their march southwards, but plundered the country in their retreat; that many of the best houses there had suffered; and that two of the rebels were taken with their arms between Ashbourn and Derby, by a farmer and two boys, and sent to the camp at Meriden common."—"At Ashbourn, they shot two men, one of whom died on the spot; they took all the horses they could lay their hands on, and plundered and did great damage."—Between Wigan and Manchester fifteen or sixteen stragglers were picked up, and sent to different jails."—For three days in the neighbourhood of Preston, the country-people had some smart skirmishes with the rebels, and destroyed several of them."—Near Lancaster, about 20 rebel-stragglers were picked up."—"Gen. Oglethorpe near Preston took a rebel-captain, named Mackenzie, and two men prisoners."—At Kendal, Dec. 16. they behaved very rudely, and exacted a sum of money. The last of them that were in that town plundered some houses for liquors, stripped those they met of their shoes, and attempted to fire a house."—"The highlanders were guilty of great excesses at Penrith. They broke open several houses and shops, took away great quantities of goods, and threw into the streets, and spoiled or destroyed what they could not carry off."—Thus far from the London Gazette. From other papers we have the following particulars. On the 29th of November, a party of the rebel-horse were attacked at Lowther-hall by the country-people, one man was killed, several were wounded, and ten made prisoners with all their horses. Six made their escape. One of these last was Charles Boyd, second son of Lord Kilniarnock.—At Derby, they demanded what money had been subscribed and paid towards raising men in that town and county, and carried off

the postchaise, in which the Duke of Perth lolled along.—At Manchester, on their return, they demanded 5000 l. on pain of military execution, of which they actually extorted 2500 l.

By this the reader may judge of the moderation and regularity of those ferocious people, the Scotch highlanders, whose thirst after plunder is celebrated in the annals of the nation, and whose rapaciousness is universally known even at home. It is amazing, that historians, in order to promote a favourite cause, should contradict manifest facts, and sacrifice truth to falsehood. The deliberation of the rebels retreat, may be judged of by the narrative already given of it; and the total loss may be estimated by the number of prisoners taken during the march and retreat. But it is time to proceed.

The Duke of Cumberland entered Carlisle in the morning of Dec. 31. amidst the loud acclamations of the people. Four dragoons found there, who had enlisted with the rebels after the battle of Preston, were hanged up. Here he was met by four gentlemen, deputed by the principal loyal inhabitants of Edinburgh, to congratulate him on his success against the rebels, and to invite him to that capital in case he should enter Scotland. The deputies were graciously received, and had the honour to dine with his Royal Highness. The Duke having cleared England of rebels, after the reduction of Carlisle, set out on his return to London, where he arrived Jan. 5. 1746; expecting, that by the measures then taken, the rebellion would soon have been quashed, and tranquillity restored. But we shall find, that as Providence had honoured him to extinguish it in England, so it reserved for him the like honour in Scotland; which signal services will hand down his illustrious name with glory to the latest ages; when the memory of the rebellious crew shall be obliterated.

Mean

Mean while the rebel-army continued their retreat northward. They passed the Esk, Dec. 20. the same day they left Carlisle. The river being then breast-deep, some of them were drowned. Sixteen carts laden with their tents, were taken by Maj.-Gen. Bland. On their arrival in Scotland, they divided. One body, computed at about 4000, quartered that night at Annan; and another body, of about 2000, at Ecclefechan. Lord Elcho, with about 4 or 500, proceeded from Annan to Dumfries; and the rest followed next day. The pretender, the French ambassador, the Duke of Perth, Lord Pitligo, Lochiel, Clanronald, Glengary, and Keppoch, went by Dumfries; Lord Tullibardine, Lord George Murray, Lords Ogilvie and Nairn, by Moffat. On the 23d, the body at Dumfries marched thence, and the pretender lodged that night at Drumlanrig. A tenant of the Duke of Queensberry's was shot for running out of their way. They levied the excise at Dumfries, and intimated, that if either excise or land-tax was paid for the future to any other than them, the people might be sure of paying them over again double. They imposed a contribution on the town, of 2000 l. in money, and 1000 pair of shoes; seized nine casks of gunpowder, all the arms public and private, horse-furniture, boots, &c. every horse that could be found in town or country, and took free quarters. Near 1100 l. of the money was paid, and two gentlemen were carried off as hostages, till the remainder should be remitted. They ordered the townspeople to send their baggage after them, threatening, that if they heard a finger was moved against any of their stragglers, the hostages should instantly be put to death. They committed great outrages, having robbed and plundered several houses; and they told the people, they had reason to think themselves gently used, that their town was not laid in ashes. This severity was used with Dumfries, because the rebels, at their entering England, having left
thirty

thirty cart-loads of their baggage at Lockerby, for want of horses; and the party left to guard it, afraid of a body of militia sent from Dumfries to attack them, leaving the baggage, it was seized Nov. 14. and carried into Dumfries. That town lost at least 4000 l. by this rebel-visit, and the adjacent country much more. This is another instance of the moderation of the ferocious highlanders, and their humane prince. If he is not really descended from James VII. he imitates him to the life: and why should not the supposed grandson follow the example of his illustrious grandfather?

The rebels did not now think it proper to return to Edinburgh, which perhaps would not now have proved so easy an acquisition as it had done on the 17th of September. They therefore marched towards Glasgow, which their vanguard entered on the 25th; and the main body, with the pretender's son, next evening. But here we leave them for a little, in order to relate what has been passing all this time in Scotland, with some remarkable occurrences in England.

About the beginning of September, a royal sign-manual came down to Scotland, for raising twenty independent companies in the north, under the direction of Lord President Forbes, an eminent lawyer, an upright judge, a gentleman of strict honour and untainted integrity, in every respect an honour to his country. He acted with indefatigable zeal for the interest of his King and country, and laid out considerable sums in that important service; in consideration of which his only son obtained a pension of 400 l. for life. He (says a late writer) confirmed several chiefs who began to waver in their principles: some he actually converted by the energy of his arguments, and brought over to the assistance of the government, which they had determined to oppose: others he persuaded to remain quiet, without taking share in the present troubles. The Earl of Loudon, who had lately been appointed Colonel of a new highland regiment, which

was beginning to be levied when the rebellion broke out, was ordered, soon after the action at Preston, to repair to Inverness, to take upon him the command of the forces there. His Lordship arrived at that place Oct. 11. where he completed his regiment; directed the conduct of the clans who had taken arms in behalf of his Majesty; and, by his vigilance, overawed the disaffected chieftains of that country who had not yet openly engaged in the rebellion. About the middle of November he had collected about 1800 men, consisting of his own regiment, the Earl of Sutherland's and Lord Rae's people, Monroes, Grants, Guns, and Macleods; and had received money and arms from London by the Saltash sloop of war.

While this Noble Lord was using his utmost endeavours to quell any rebellious motions in the neighbourhood of Inverness, Lord Lewis Gordon was equally busy in raising men for the pretender's service in the county of Mar, and other parts of Aberdeenshire. But what gave the greatest joy to the Jacobites, and made some sculking rebels to appear openly, was the arrival of Lord John Drummond, only brother to the Duke of Perth. This gentleman, with 800 Scots and Irish, in six transports from Dunkirk, landed at Montrose, Stonehaven, and Peterhead, about the 24th of November, and brought along with him a small train of artillery, consisting of several eighteen-pounders. On the 2d of December he issued a declaration in the following terms.

“ We Lord John Drummond, commander in chief of his Most Christian Majesty's forces in Scotland, do hereby declare, That we are come to this kingdom with written orders to make war against the King of England, Elector of Hanover, and his adherents; and that the positive orders we have from his Most Christian Majesty are, to attack all his enemies in this kingdom; whom he has declared to be those who will not immediately join or assist, as far as will lie in their power.”

their power, the Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, &c. his ally ; and whom he is resolved, with the concurrence of the King of Spain, to support in the taking possession of Scotland, England, and Ireland, if necessary at the expence of all the men and money he is master of ; to which three kingdoms the family of Stuart have so just and indisputable a title. And his Most Christian Majesty's positive orders are, That his enemies should be used in this kingdom in proportion to the harm they do or intend to his Royal Highness's cause."—A declaration expressive of the disposition and conduct of the Most Christian King, Lewis the Wellbeloved. Here a natural-born subject of G. Britain, under pretence of a commission from the French King, takes upon him not only to prosecute by fire and sword such as will oppose the French invaders and their confederates here, but to threaten destruction to those who will not join in the unhallowed attempt. And indeed this gentleman's conduct was pretty much of a piece with his declaration. For, immediately upon his arrival, the rebels in Perthshire and Angus, grown insolent with the succours sent them, behaved in such a manner, that the whole country round became one scene of horror and oppression ; robberies were perpetual, many of them in open day, in the public streets ; in Strathmore they robbed many of the clergy of considerable sums ; whole parishes in Angus were distressed by pressing men, or exacting a composition in money ; some gentlemen were assessed in 50 l. some in 100 l. and others in 200 l. Illuminations being ordered at Dundee on account of the arrival of the French, the windows of the Presbyterian ministers were broke, because not illuminated ; they threw stones, and even fired sharp shot into one of them ; and would not desist till the aged pastor applied to their commanding officer to get them called off.

Nor were Perth and Angus the only counties exposed to such oppression and depredations ; but par-

ties of them spread further north, and raised men and money in Bamff and Aberdeen shires, by force, and threats of the most severe military execution. The money imposed on the town and shire of Aberdeen, viz. 5 l. Sterling or an able-bodied man, with sufficient highland cloaths, plaid and arms, for every 100 l. Scots of valued rent, was computed at near 13,000 l. Sterling. And they sent detachments into various parts of Fife, who made the inhabitants groan by their oppressive exactions. The Earl of Kelly, who afterwards had the honour to stand in the front of the list of the attainted, with a party of highlanders and French, came to Dunfermline Dec. 27. to collect the cels and excise, where and at Alloa several outrages were committed. Besides raising the public monies, they assessed several gentlemen in considerable sums, among others, Sir George Preston of Valleyfield, in 300 l.; Mr Welwood of Garvock, in 250; Mess. Cuninghame of Balbougie, and Charles Cochran of Culrofs, in 200 each; Sir Robert Henderson of Fordel, Mess. Blackwood of Pitreavie, and Erskine of Carnock, in 150 each; Mess. Colvil of Ochiltree, and Dundas of Blair, in 100 each; and Mess. Robert Welwood, and Black, clerk of Dumfermline, in 50 each.

These are but a few instances of the effects of the highland government in Scotland; and from these an idea may be formed of the distressed state of the kingdom, while the rebel-yoke was wreathed about its neck.

Lord J. Drummond, soon after his arrival, sent a French drum, with letters to the King's generals. He came to Edinburgh Nov. 9. and after delivering letters to the governors in the castle, he proceeded southward, and arrived at Newcastle on the 19th. M. Wade, like a gallant Protestant officer, caused him to be told, that he had no answer to give him; and that he could receive no message from a person who is a subject of the King's and in rebellion against his Majesty.

jeſty. The King's meſſage to the Commons of Dec. 19. to be afterwards mentioned, will explain the nature of this rebel's meſſage.

Not long after the arrival of the French, the rebels about Montroſe ſurpriſed and took the Hazard ſloop of war, of 16 guns, commanded by Capt. Hill. This prize proved of vaſt ſervice to them; but ſhe was afterwards, at a very critical conjuncture, retaken, with a conſiderable ſum of money on board. All the crew were made priſoners, and the loſs was owing to their negligence. On an inquiry into the cauſe of her loſs, the captain and lieutenant were both caſhiered, the gunner and boatſwain reprimanded; and the reſt acquitted.

As ſoon as the rebels marched into England, Lord Lovat, the chief of the clan of Fraſers, ſecretly incited his people to riſe up in favour of the young pretender, ſent for his eldeſt ſon from the college of St Andrew's, and compelled him to head them. On news of the ſurrender of Carlisle, he ſent his ſon, with 500 men, to block up Fort Auguſtus. On notice of this, Lord Loudon, with 600 of the well-affecting clans, marched from Inverneſs, Dec. 3. in a very ſevere froſt, to the relief of that fort. He met with no oppoſition, the Fraſers having retired on his approach; and having ſupplied the gariſon with neceſſaries, he returned to Inverneſs on the 8th.

This detachment, after one day's reſt, were ordered to march to drive the rebels out of Bamff and Aberdeenshire. On the 10th Lord Loudon, with 800 men, marched to Caſtle-Downie, a ſeat of Lord Lovat, in order to obtain ſecurity for the peaceable behaviour of the Fraſers. At the ſame time the Laird of Macleod was detached with 500 men towards Elgin, in their way alſo to Bamff and Aberdeenshire; and Lord Loudon was to follow with as many men as could be ſpared from Inverneſs. On the 11th Lord Loudon prevailed with Lovat to come into Inverneſs along

long with him, and live there under his eye until he should bring in all the arms that were in the possession of his clan. This he frankly promised to do, averring, that the Frasers had taken up arms against his consent, and highly condemning the behaviour of the Master, whom he styled a rebellious son. He had fixed the 14th for causing the arms be given up; but he delayed to fulfil his promise from time to time, and at last found means to escape. In the mean time 200 men, under Capt. George Monro of Culcairn, were detached to follow Macleod. On the arrival of the latter at Elgin, hearing that 200 rebels had taken possession of the boats on the river Spey at Fochabers, and pretended to dispute the passage with him, he advanced on the 15th to the banks of that river; which the rebels quitted on his approach, leaving him a quiet passage. From thence he proceeded on the 16th and 17th to Cullen and Bamff, whilst Culcairn with his 200 men, on the 17th and 18th, advanced by Keith to Strathbogie. The rebels who were in possession of those places, retired towards Aberdeen. The young Laird of Grant joined Capt. Monro with 500 of his clan, and marched with him to Strathbogie. On the 19th it was resolved by Macleod and Culcairn to march the next morning, the first from Bamff to Old Meldrum, twelve miles from Aberdeen, and the last from Strathbogie to Inverury, which is at the like distance. Macleod and Culcairn's party, consisting only of 700 men, had now got to Inverury, the Grants having marched no farther than Strathbogie. The rebels at Aberdeen had got a reinforcement from Montrose, Dundee, &c. and being 1200 strong, they marched from Aberdeen so secretly, that, on the 23d, they came up with Macleod at Inverury, where he lay with about 300 of his men, (the rest being cantoned in the neighbourhood, at the distance of a mile or two), after four o'clock in the evening, without being discovered, till they were ready to begin the attack. Notwithstanding the surprise,

the inequality of numbers, the loyal party maintained their ground for about twenty minutes, until the greatest part of their ammunition was exhausted; and then made their retreat in so good order, that the rebels did not at all pursue them. They had seven men killed, and 15 so wounded that they could not be brought off. The rebels loss was greater, though they took care to conceal it, by burying their dead in the night. Some accounts bore, that of Macleod's men 41 were taken prisoners, among whom were Mess. Gordon younger of Ardoch, Forbes of Echt, and John Chalmers one of the regents in the university of Aberdeen. Macleod and Culcairn, after this affair, retired to the north side of the Spey, to prevent like surprises.

During these transactions the rebels at Perth daily increased, and Lord John Drummond established his head quarters there. They repaired Oliver's mount, and employed a considerable number of country-people in fortifying the whole town. Here the Frasers joined them; as did also some of Clanronald's people, who had escorted a considerable quantity of Spanish money that had been landed in the island of Burray. About the end of December, the party at Perth were also reinforced by a body of men under the Earl of Cromarty, Lord Strathallan, and Lord Lewis Gordon, besides some of the Macintoshes and Farquharsons; so that they were then said to be 3000 strong.

Before we proceed further in the affairs in Scotland, which is again become the scene of rebellion, it will not be improper to relate a few remarkable occurrences in England.

It has been already mentioned, that the parliament met on the 17th of October, and that, in their addresses to the King, they expressed the utmost detestation of the unnatural rebellion which had broke out in Scotland. Both houses concurred in every measure for suppressing the rebellion; and at a conference in the Painted Chamber, Nov. 7. they came to the following resolutions,

resolutions, expressing the general sense of the nation with regard to the rebellion, and the papers published by the pretender, and his eldest son, viz.

“ 1. That the two printed papers respectively signed *James R.* and dated at Rome Dec. 23. 1743, [*i. e.* the pretender's declaration for Scotland, and his commission of regency to his son], and the four printed papers signed *Charles P. R.* dated respectively May 16. Aug. 22. and Oct. 9. & 10. 1745, [*i. e.* the young pretender's first manifesto; his proclamation in opposition to that published by the Lords Justices Aug. 6. ; his proclamation forbidding the parliament to meet; and his second manifesto], are false, scandalous, and traitorous libels; intended to poison the minds of his Majesty's subjects; containing the most malicious, audacious, and wicked incitements to them to commit the most abominable treasons; groundless and infamous calumnies and indignities against the government, crown, and sacred person of his Most Excellent Majesty King George II. our only rightful and undoubted sovereign; and seditious and presumptuous declarations against the constitution of this united kingdom; representing the high court of parliament, now legally assembled, by his Majesty's authority, as an unlawful assembly, and all the acts of parliament passed since the late happy revolution, as null and void; and that the said printed papers are full of the utmost arrogance and insolent affronts to the honour of the British nation, in supposing, that his Majesty's subjects are capable of being imposed upon, seduced, or terrified, by false and opprobrious invectives, insidious promises, or vain and impotent menaces, or of being deluded to exchange the free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, as well civil as religious, under the well-established government of a Protestant prince, for Popery and slavery, under a Popish bigotted pretender, long since excluded by the wisest laws made to secure our excellent constitution, and abjured by the most solemn oaths.

“ 2. That

" 2. That, in abhorrence and detestation of such vile and treasonable practices, the said several printed papers be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, at the Royal exchange in London, on Tuesday the 12th day of this instant November, at one of the clock in the afternoon; and that the sheriffs of London do then attend, and cause the same to be burnt there accordingly."—The papers were burnt, agreeably to this resolution, amidst the repeated acclamations of a prodigious number of people.

Such was the opinion of the supreme council of the nation with respect to the pretender's declarations, and such their detestation of them, which had had the influence to raise and arm a considerable number of people in Scotland, in order to overturn the constitution, laws, and religion of their native country, under which they had enjoyed more liberty than any one nation under heaven ever had done. And not long after these famous resolutions, they passed an act for raising the militia in England; by which 36,250 men could be raised, exclusive of Wales, which was to furnish 300.

It has also been mentioned above, that the fleet was stationed in such a manner as might best prevent an invasion from France, and that the brave Adm. Vernon commanded in the Downs. Notwithstanding the vigilance of this experienced officer, and the prudent disposition made by him of his cruisers, no less than 100 men got to Scotland in several transports, two of which were privateers. A third named *the Esperance*, was however taken Nov. 22. and brought into Deal on the 25th, by the Sheerness, of 20 guns, Capt. [unclear]. On board this prize was Charles Ratcliffe, Esq; brother to the Earl of Derwentwater, who was attainted in 1715, and had since resided in France, where he assumed the title of Earl of Derwentwater; as were also his son, 30 other officers, and 60 soldiers, all of different regiments in the French service. On the 28th,

the Milford, of 40 guns, Capt. Hanway, took the Lewis XV. another of the French transports, off Montrose; brought the prize to Leith road, and landed the prisoners at Leith, who then were committed to the castle of Edinburgh, Dec. 6. On board this ship were found 16 officers, 5 serjeants, 6 corporals, 2 drums, 93 private men, 2 surgeons, and 4 servants, 330 stand of arms, with bayonets and cartouch-boxes, 330 broad swords, a number of bridles and saddles, harnesses and collars for horses. Besides these prizes, a Spanish ship, belonging to the Groine, bound for Scotland, was taken, and brought into Corke, by the Ambuscade privateer of London, Cooke, Dec. 12. She had on board 2500 muskets and bayonets, 110 barrels of powder, 70 cases of ball, each weighing 400 lb. weight, and a great number of flints. There were also on board 60,000 pistoles in bags; which, with the vessel's papers, were thrown into the sea, except about 1217 of the pistoles.

By these captures, and the ships that got to Scotland, and the preparations in the French ports, the government were satisfied of an intended invasion from France. The fleet was therefore stationed so as best to prevent it. On the 12th of December, two Dover privateers fell in with eight transports, from Boulogne for Dunkirk, under convoy of a war-ship of 22 guns, and seized three of them. On the 19th they fell in with about 60 sail, mostly fishing-boats and small vessels, from Dunkirk for Calais or Boulogne; of which they drove seventeen ashore near Calais, blew up one, sunk two, and carried off three. All the vessels taken had some warlike stores on board; such as small cannon, powder, ball, horse-collars, cloaths and bedding for soldiers, and poles about seven feet long, spiked with iron at both ends. Other two vessels from Roan for Boulogne, in ballast, were likewise sent into Dover, by one of the privateers of that port.

And on the 12th a proclamation was published by his Majesty, commanding all officers, both civil and military, in their respective counties, to cause the coasts to be carefully watched; and, upon the first approach of an enemy, immediately to cause all horses, oxen, and cattle, fit for draught or burthen, to be removed at least twenty miles from the place where the enemy should attempt to land. Nay, his Majesty was so impressed with the belief of a designed invasion, that he sent a message to the house of Commons, on the 19th, importing, "That his Majesty having received undoubted intelligence, that preparations were making at Dunkirk, and other ports of France, which were then in great forwardness, for invading Britain with a considerable number of forces, in support of the rebellion; and some French troops being actually landed in Scotland, under the command of a person, who had sent a message to some of the generals of his Majesty's forces, declaring, that he was come into this kingdom to make war against his Majesty, by the orders of the French King [meaning Lord John Drummond]; his Majesty thought it proper to acquaint the house of Commons with an event of such high importance to his crown, and to the peace and security of his kingdoms: informing them, that he judged it necessary to direct the 6000 Hessians in British pay to be brought into the kingdom, the more effectually to repel the invasion, and suppress the rebellion: and not doubting but his faithful Commons would concur in all such measures as should be necessary for disappointing and defeating so dangerous an attempt."—And a letter wrote by Adm. Vernon, dated, *Norwich in the Downs*, Dec. 20. addressed to Adm. Norris, or to the Mayor of Deal, left no room to doubt of the truth of the destined invasion. In that letter the Admiral says, he had received intelligence the evening before, that the enemy had brought away from Dunkirk great numbers of their small imbarcations, many of them laden with

cannon, field-carriages, powder, shot, and other military stores; that the Irish troops had marched out of Dunkirk towards Calais; that Gen. Lowendahl, and many other officers, were at Dunkirk, with a young person among them whom they called the Prince, and who was said to be the second son of the pretender; and that they were preparing for a descent from the ports of Calais and Boulogne, which he suspected would be attempted at Dungeness. By the best information, it appeared, that the Irish troops, consisting of 6000 men, were to be embarked in large ships for Scotland; but the national troops, consisting of 12,000 men, under the command of C. Lowendahl, and the pretender's second son, were to be landed in England. But this invasion was defeated by the prudent station of the fleet, and the vigilance of Adm. Vernon; so that the French were obliged to discontinue their preparations. A short while after, Com. Knowles, who had been sent to look into the French ports, reported, that there were no signs then of any preparations for an invasion: so that the British nation was no longer apprehensive of the storm that had been so long hovering on their coasts; and they attributed the defeating of this attempt to the brave Adm. Vernon: though that brave gentleman was not long after dismissed from the service, and never after again employed; he struck his flag, Jan. 2. 1746, and wrote to the Duke of Bedford, then at the head of the admiralty-board, that he was hunted out of his command by the operative hand of some malicious and industrious agent, that was too well screened, for his being able to discover him, and point out who it was. But he had the satisfaction to see, that the whole kingdom was sensible, that his activity had put an absolute check on the French, and banished every idea of an intended descent.

But we now return to affairs in Scotland, where we shall meet with very interesting scenes, until the hydra

head of Rebellion was lopped off in April 1746, and the country cleared of the pretended prince and all his open adherents.

On the departure of the rebels from Edinburgh, the timid clergy of that city began to crawl out of their lurking-holes, and assume an air of courage. Divine worship was performed in some of the churches Nov. 3. and in all on the 10th. The synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, and the presbytery of Edinburgh, complimented the commanders in the castle for their vigilance in the late time of danger; and soon after the commission, with the synod of Lothian, the presbytery of Edinburgh, and the ministers of that city, sent very loyal addresses to his Majesty. The commission likewise published a seasonable warning with respect to the rebellion, in which particular notice was taken of the young pretender's second manifesto, mentioned above, and the fallacy thereof exposed. No body can doubt of the loyalty of the ecclesiastical body in Scotland, and of their zeal for his Majesty's person and government, though the courage of many failed them upon the mere appearance of danger, when it should have been roused into activity. And indeed, every sincere Protestant must be convinced, that the preservation of his religion is connected with K. George's government in the present circumstances; and that if the government were overturned, the Protestant religion must share in the fatal catastrophe. And the Jacobitish Protestants must be infatuated to the last degree, who think that religion would run no risk under a Popish prince. Let them only consider what has taken place in France, Germany, &c. and not forget the conduct of K. James II. the supposed father of the present pretender, in whose steps the Popish son and grandson would reckon it their honour to tread. But to proceed:

While the rebels ruled in Edinburgh, the officers of state had retired to Berwick; but after the highland army left that city, these gentlemen returned, and resumed their

their several offices. The Lord Justice-Clerk and the Lords of Justiciary, attended by the Earl of Home and Lord Belhaven, and a great number of gentlemen, entered the city, Nov. 13. and were, at the cross, met by the late magistrates, and other inhabitants of distinction. They were saluted by a round of the castle-guns; the music bells played the whole time of the procession, and the people joined their loud huzza's. The whole company having immediately assembled in the parliament-house, the Lord Justice-Clerk made them a very seasonable and loyal speech, expressing the greatest sympathy with the city on account of her late distress; promising immediate succours from M. Wade; recommending to the inhabitants to consider themselves as in a state of war, notwithstanding the rebels departure; and recommending to the heritors, with the assistance of the clergy, to make up lists of all the able-bodied men in their respective bounds, proper to be intrusted with arms, for the defence of the city, and the country adjoining.

Next day, Lt-Gen. Handasyd arrived in Edinburgh, with Price's and Ligonier's regiments of foot, and Hamilton's and Ligonier's [late Gardiner's] dragoons. These troops were received by the inhabitants with open arms, as a happy exchange for the highland savages who had so lately resided among them.

But as no more forces could be spared from M. Wade's army, and as those now sent would be insufficient for defending the city, in case the rebels who had gone to England should return, or those in the north should march that way, a meeting of the subscribers to the fund for levying a regiment in Edinburgh, formerly mentioned, was called Nov. 20. A new subscription was opened, for completing a regiment of 1000 men, who were to be under the direction of the commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Multitudes immediately enlisted, and the regiment was soon completed, the sensible commonalty shewing the greatest zeal for the service.

A meeting of the Edinburgh freeholders was held Nov. 27. when the gentlemen were justly of opinion, that the capital was of such importance, that no means ought to be left untried to preserve it from again falling into the hands of the rebels; and therefore ordered the fencible men to be raised, armed, and to march for the defence of the city, if occasion should require.

The same spirit of loyalty soon spread through other parts of the kingdom, particularly in the west, a country zealously attached to his Majesty's person and government. Stirling raised 400 men;—Glasgow and Paisley 3000, besides 300 Seceders, who formed a separate corps, all hearty for the service of their King and country. And about the same time Maj.-Gen. Campbell of Mamore, presumptive heir of the noble family of Argyll, arrived at Inverary, with money, arms, and ammunition, for raising the Argyleshire militia. The rebels had not been able to raise men in Argyleshire: for, about the beginning of November, Glengyle, chief of the clan Macgregor, who had been appointed governor of Innersnaid, Down, &c. by the young pretender, having gone thither with a party, in order to raise men, was attacked by three companies of Loudon's regiment, commanded by Lt-Col. John Campbell; and obliged to retreat, with the loss of two men killed and eighteen taken prisoners.

About the beginning of December, the rebels at Perth, with their French auxiliaries, began to talk that they would march southward, cross the Forth, and besiege both Edinburgh and Stirling castles, and for that purpose ordered horses to be provided for drawing their heavy cannon. On notice of this, Price's foot marched from Edinburgh on the 6th, and Ligonier's on the 9th, for Stirling. A body of the Glasgow and Paisley militia also marched thither about the same time, under the command of the Earls of Home and Glencairn. They were joined by the Stirling militia, and posted
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so as best to secure the bridge of that town, and the fords at the heads of the Forth.

Immediately after the retreat of the rebels from Carlisle, the greatest part of M. Wade's army was ordered for Scotland, and the command given to Lt. Gen. Henry Hawley, an officer who had been present at the battle of Sheriff-moor in 1715, and who, consequently, could not be supposed to be a stranger to the method of fighting practised by the highlanders. The troops began, in the end of December, to file off successively from Newcastle, and were impatiently expected at Edinburgh; the loyal inhabitants of which, on notice of the return of the rebels into Scotland, were under no small apprehensions lest they should direct their march thither. There were then few or no regular troops in the city, and the disaffected were eager for the return of their friends. Fear of a second visit prevailed so far, that on the 22d and 23d of December, some of the public offices and valuable effects were conveyed to the castle. But their apprehensions were in some measure removed by the return of the troops from Stirling on the 24th, who had made forced marches. At the same time the Glasgow and Paisley militia moved towards Edinburgh, and came by shipping from Borrowstounness to Leith. However, as it was still doubtful what route the pretender's army would take, and as there was not yet a sufficient force at Edinburgh to repel them, should they march that way, it was feared, that the regular troops and militia would be obliged to march for Berwick: and that there was some intention of such a march, appeared from providing horses and carts, Dec. 23. and securing them in the castle, in order, as was supposed, to transport their baggage: but they were all discharged next day, when the troops arrived from Stirling. At the same time intelligence was received of the rebels having marched for Glasgow, and of the first division of Gen. Hawley's army having set out from Newcastle; which

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in a good measure eased the inhabitants of their fears. But as another visit of the rebels was still dreaded at Edinburgh, and as express after express was sent them from their friends in that city to hasten their march thither, the principal inhabitants, therefore, took advice of the gentlemen of the army; and at a council of war held Dec. 28. the following resolutions were agreed to, *viz.* 1. That orders be given to lay in immediately a sufficient quantity of provisions. 2. That a corps of able-bodied men from the country be forthwith brought into the city, and added to the regular forces and militia. 3. That the cannon on travelling carriages, harnesses for horses, cartridges for the cannon, primers, &c. be provided. 4. That proper works be thrown up before the different ports, and the foot of the several closes; and that all the ports that shall be judged useless, be immediately built up. 5. That proper communications be made, for the ready junction of troops around the walls. 6. That artillery-tumbrels be forthwith loaded with ball and cartridges, to be sent where there may be occasion. 7. That a quantity of wheel-barrows, pick-axes, shovels, and other necessary artillery-stores, be provided, together with horses to draw the train. Next day a paper was read in all the churches, importing, That it had been resolved in a council of war, in case the rebels should approach, to defend the city against them; and therefore desiring such of the inhabitants as chose to stay in town, to lay in provisions for five or six days.

By this time the rebels about Glasgow began to be in motion; and advice was brought to Edinburgh, Dec. 30. that they were packing up their baggage, which seemed to indicate a march. The country-militia were therefore immediately called in to town; for, in pursuance of the Lord Justice-Clerk's recommendation, above mentioned, lists had been made out of the able-bodied men proper to be intrusted with arms for

the defence of the city. A party came into town on the evening of the 30th, and a considerable number in a day or two after. Several ministers marched with their parishioners, some of them in arms. The Seceders of Edinburgh and Dalkeith kept in a body by themselves, and had proper colours, with this inscription, *For religion, the covenants, king, and kingdoms.* All the volunteers received arms and ammunition out of the magazine in the castle. The works about the city were likewise begun, and preparations made for a vigorous defence. And it is thought these measures intimidated the rebels to march towards Edinburgh, though very desirous of again possessing themselves of that city, and strongly importuned by their friends to attempt it.

In a few days, however, the first division of the troops from Newcastle arrived; which rendered the continuing of the public works unnecessary. A battalion of the Royal Scots, and Battereau's foot, having been provided in horses by the gentlemen and farmers of the Lothians, to expedite their march, reached Edinburgh Jan. 2.; Fleming's and Blakeney's foot, on the 3d; Maj.-Gen. Huske, on the 4th; Gen. Hawley, commander in chief, on the 6th; Wolfe's and Cholmondeley's foot, on the 7th; Howard's (the Old Buffs) and Monro's, on the 8th; and Barrel's and Pulteney's, on the 10th. The troops were entertained at Dunbar, Aberlady, &c. by the counties of the Lothians. Each soldier got a pound of beef, a pound of bread, a glass of Scotch spirits, and a bottle of ale. They were likewise entertained at Edinburgh by the city; where they were received with fine illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy. The streets were lined with the militia on their entering the city, the windows were illuminated, and the music-bells played. Some of the troops were billeted in the city, suburbs, and Leith; but the greatest part were quartered in public buildings and empty houses, the inhabitants furnishing them blankets. Commodious rooms were taken

for the officers, and paid for by the principal inhabitants, as an evidence of their hearty zeal for the public service in this critical conjuncture.

The young pretender, with his army, as has been already related, entered Glasgow on the 26th of December. By a medium of several computations, their number did not exceed 3600 foot and 500 horse, including 50 or 60 employed in carrying their sick. Their horses were poor and jaded; and 6 or 700 of their foot had no arms, or ability to use them. In short, they were in a very miserable pickle, almost naked, and without shoes and stockings. They also lost several men by desertion and death, and could only insist about 50 or 60, who took on with them merely for want of bread. The deserters were generally such as had collected plunder in England, and now thought it prudent to retire with it to their respective places of abode.

The inhabitants of Glasgow had at all times distinguished themselves in zeal for the Protestant cause, and the true interest of their country. In 1688, they had shewed an early zeal for the support of our great deliverer K. William, after having suffered the most grievous persecutions under the royal brothers. In 1715, they had levied and maintained, at their own expence, a regiment for helping to suppress the rebellion begun that year. And at this time, animated by the same noble spirit, and not deterred by the heavy fine formerly imposed upon them, they raised and substituted two battalions, of 600 men each. One of the battalions had marched to Stirling, for the defence of that pass, under the command of the Earl of Home; and the other, on the approach of the rebels, in their retreat from England, had been disbanded, and their arms delivered into Dumbarton castle. Such distinguished loyalty could not fail to expose them anew to the resentment of the rebels, who had already exacted from them a sum of 5500 l. soon after their getting possession of Edinburgh. Immediately after their ar-

rival here, the rebels demanded from the city, 12,000 shirts, 6000 bonnets, 6000 pairs of shoes, 6000 pairs of stockings, and 6000 waistcoats, amounting to near 10,000 l. Sterling in value. They likewise required lists of the promoters of the fund for raising the two regiments, the sums subscribed by each, and the names of the officers who commanded them. But this demand was absolutely refused by the Provost, who having been an active promoter of the new levies on behalf of the government, was assessed separately in 500 l. The rebels lived, during their residence here, which was ten days, at free quarters, and expressed their resentment against the zealous friends of the government, by several outrages, such as plundering houses, destroying goods and furniture, and other acts of oppression. So that the loyalty of this city cost them at least 18,000 l. of which 10,000 l. was afterwards, in 1749, reimbursed to them by parliament. Not content with these rigorous exactions, they caused two terms of the excise to be paid them, raised 500 l. at Paisley, in resentment of the loyalty of that borough, levied the public money at Renfrew and other places, and made demands all the country round. And the prince-pretender, to shew the lenity of his government, issued an order, dated at Glasgow, Dec. 30. addressed to the commissioners of supply of Linlithgowshire, requiring twenty-five horses, or 10 l. for each, to be delivered to him on or before the 16th of January 1746, on pain of military execution. Some of these rigorous demands were never complied with, and the rebels influence did not always reach so far as to enforce the execution of them.

While the highland army lay at Glasgow, Gen. Campbell was busy raising men in Argyleshire for the service of the government; so that by the end of December there were 600 at Inverary, and 450 at Campbellton, a body sufficient to prevent any detachments from the rebels penetrating into that county. On the
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other hand, about the time of the rebels entering Glasgow, 800 rebels from Perth were in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and were quartered at Down, Dumblain, and bridge of Allan; 7 or 800 were at Dundee and Montrose; 400 French at Perth; and 300 of Invercauld's men had been compelled by fire and sword to join Lord Lewis Gordon at Aberdeen, who now was on his march to Perth. The number of rebels, exclusive of those at Glasgow, was, at the end of the year 1745, computed at 4000; and they were all on their march towards Stirling, to join their pretended prince there.

After the departure of the regular troops and west-country militia from Stirling to Edinburgh, Glengyle, with the help of floats, (the boats having been all destroyed), passed the Forth at the Frew, and placed a guard on the south side of the river. The Duke of Perth joined them, with a small detachment from Glasgow, on the 28th of December. The rebels now resolved to attack Stirling; and, on the 30th, several pieces of cannon were moved towards that town; amongst which were two pieces of eight-pounders, two of twelve, and two of sixteen, all brass, besides iron cannon, with a large quantity of powder and ball.

On the 3d of January the rebels, who had had no respect paid to them or their chief by the inhabitants of Glasgow, marched thence for Stirling, one column by Kilsyth, and another by Cumbernauld. As the whole of the shirts, &c. imposed on Glasgow were not made when they marched, two merchants were carried off as hostages, for security of their being delivered. Next day they sent for printing materials and workmen, which were provided for them; and soon after they erected a printing-house at Bannockburn, in order to print and disperse their treasonable writings. The young pretender lay at Mr Campbell's of Shawfield near Kilsyth, in the night of the 3d. Mr Campbell's steward was ordered to provide every thing, and promised payment;

ment; but was told next morning, that the bill should be allowed to his master at accounting for the rents of Kilsyth, being a forfeited estate. Next day, the army advanced towards Stirling, and were cantoned at Den-ny, Bannockburn, and St Ninian's. A strong party of their men, under the Earl of Kilmarnock, were detached towards Falkirk, for a rearguard. The young Chevalier took up his quarters at Bannockburn, the house of Sir Hugh Paterfon of Touch. Lord George Murray and John Drummond went to Alloa on the 4th, to concert how to bring over the cannon brought from Perth, by floats; went next to survey the passage at Cambus, and then proceeded to Dumblain, leaving a guard of 100 men at Alloa.

When the rebels from Perth marched towards Stirling, Gen. Blakeney used the precaution to cut one of the arches of the bridge; and dreading that the rebels would attack the castle, he ordered large quantities of provisions to be brought in for the use of the garrison, being determined to make a resolute defence. He likewise encouraged the inhabitants of the town to make a vigorous defence, if attacked; promising them all the assistance he could possibly afford. There were above 600 men in arms in the town, who were furnished with arms and ammunition from the castle, all hearty volunteers, determined to risk their lives in defence of the place. As the town was open on the north side, and without walls, having only some low fences encompassing gardens and parks, care had been taken, by the direction of Gen. Blakeney, to have a stone wall and gate built in the two large passages on that side, and some of the entries to the gardens stopped up.

The rebel-army from Glasgow advanced towards Stirling Jan. 3. approached nearer on the forenoon of the 4th, and quite surrounded it in the afternoon. Next day they fell to cutting down trees, making fascines, &c. in order to raise a battery; and about eight at night they sent a drum to the east port with a message;

message; who being fired at by the centinels, instantly fled, leaving his drum, which was towed in over the walls. On the 6th the rebels opened a trench, and raised a battery within musket-shot of the town. At one o'clock after noon, they sent a message to the magistrates and council, requiring them to surrender the town, and give up all arms and ammunition in it, with high threatenings in case of refusal or delay. A meeting of the council and principal inhabitants being immediately called, they sent a verbal message, to Mr Murray the rebel-secretary, importing, "That as it was a matter of the utmost consequence, they would chuse to deliberate upon it till next day at ten o'clock." The delay being allowed, the rebels demand was taken into consideration. The subject of deliberation was, Whether it would be the wisest course to continue the defence of the town, or give it up on terms?" The majority were of opinion, that to continue the defence would be a vain and fruitless attempt. However, after much altercation, they sent two deputies with an answer, importing, That as the message received, was a summons of surrendry at discretion, the town-council could not agree to any such surrendry. This answer was highly resented by the highland chiefs. It was then agreed to send four deputies to Mr Murray, with an offer of surrendering the town, upon the following terms: That no demand should be made on the town's revenue; that the inhabitants should be absolutely safe in their persons and effects, particularly such of them as had been in arms; and that all arms, &c. in the town, should be delivered into the castle. These terms being carried to the highland army, they were accepted of, but with great difficulty as to the article relating to the arms. At eight that night, being Jan. 7. before the return of the deputies, the rebels made twenty-seven discharges from their battery, on the town, which did no other damage, than beating down a few chimney-tops. Next morning, at nine o'clock,
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all the arms were conveyed into the castle, the gates were thrown open at eleven, and the rebels entered about three after noon; but were not two hours in possession, when they broke the capitulation, by forcing up and pillaging the shops of those who had been most noted for their opposition to the pretender: A proceeding no way surprising; as they had to do with a Popish pretender, one of the tenets of whose religion is to keep no faith with heretics, unless the benefit of the Catholic church can be thereby promoted.

It must be allowed, that this capitulation was honourable for the town of Stirling, and that their conduct merited greater praise than that of Edinburgh or Carlisle. But several of the volunteers and militia were displeased with these measures; as was also the brave Gen. Blakeney. For on hearing of what had passed about surrendering the town on terms, he came down from the castle, and went round all the guards, exhorting them to be true to their religion, king, and country, and to defend their posts to the last extremity; and if they were overpowered by the rebels, to make a handsome retreat, and he would keep an open door for them. Next morning he was informed of the terms being agreed to by the rebels; when he desired the arms and ammunition to be delivered up to him. On this the captains of the volunteers offered, with his assistance, still to defend the town; but he told them, that as the managers did not think the town worth their notice, to defend it, neither would he; he would take care of the castle. Among the volunteers were two companies of Seceders, who were all along bent for a resolute defence; as was Mr Ebenezer Erskine, their minister. But it is generally agreed, that the town-council acted very wisely in the measures they took; and those who opposed them, were soon after sensible of their mistake, and acquiesced in what had been done. The officers of the volunteers, however, afraid of the worst notwithstanding the capitula-
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tion, retired some into the castle, and others fled to Edinburgh, as did many of the private men.

At this time the rebels had no heavy cannon but two twelve-pounders, which, with great labour, they had brought round by the Frew. But immediately after entering Stirling, they sent off three four-pounders to the hill of Airth, to cover the passage for the rest of their heavy cannon from Alloa, and to prevent any attack from the King's ships. For some days before this the *Pearl* and *Vulture* sloops had sailed from Leith road, to prevent or at least retard the transporting of their cannon from Alloa. On the 8th, Gen. Hawley sent up some armed boats, and a small vessel with cannon, manned with 300 men, under the command of Lt-Col. Leighton, to destroy all the works which the rebels had made to cover the passage. The *Vulture*, Capt. Faulkner, sent a cutter and two boats before him; who arriving in Kincardine road, Jan. 7. saw a brig come out of Airth, which the rebels had seized in order to transport their cannon from Alloa. Next morning, Capt. Faulkner, on his arrival in that road, sent the boats manned and armed, to destroy other two vessels in Airth harbour, to prevent their being seized by the rebels; which they performed without losing a man, though fired at from the rebels in the town. That night the tide falling low, he could not return to the road; which the rebels perceiving, they erected a battery of three guns, and in the morning began to play upon the *Vulture*. She returned the compliment, dismounted two of the rebels cannon, killed their chief engineer, with some others, and drove them all from the battery, and likewise out of the town. The rebels then drew off their cannon to Elphinston; and having got one more from Falkirk, with a reinforcement of 3 or 400 men, they erected a four-gun battery on the point of Elphinston, in order to guard the pass.

Col. Leighton, with the 300 men, came to the assistance of the sloops on the 9th. It was agreed to attack

the brig at Alloa, which had on board two large cannon, with ammunition. There were five more in the town, three of which were mounted on the key. Accordingly, 50 soldiers in a large boat, with the ship's boats manned and armed, were ordered up the river, to lie all night a mile above the town, to prevent the brig's going up that night; and Capt. Faulkner and Col. Leighton resolved to go up next morning, to attack the town, and take the brig. But unluckily the boats having grounded a little above the town, the design was discovered. The rebels immediately beat to arms, and firing upon the boats, obliged them to retreat, with the loss of one man, and another's leg shot off. By this means the brig got up the next tide, and landed her cannon.

The design of seizing the brig having miscarried, the two sloops resolved to attack the rebels battery at Elphinston. Accordingly having got within musket-shot, they dismounted three of the cannon: but one of the sloops having had her cable cut asunder by one of their cannon-shot, she was, by the strength of the ebb tide, forced from her station; and the two pilots in the other having each lost a leg, they were obliged to quit the battery, and give up the enterprise; though not without retarding the rebels measures for attacking the castle of Stirling. In this whole affair, two sailors were killed, and ten or twelve wounded. The two pilots died of their wounds.

The young pretender having been joined by his forces that were cantoned in the neighbourhood of Stirling, before that town was given up to him, immediately after that event ordered the troops at Perth, &c. to march to his assistance. In the morning of Jan. 11. the Macdonalds, under Barisdale, and Kinlochmoidart's brother, set out for Stirling; as did the Frasers, under the Master of Lovat, in the afternoon. The Macintoshes and Farquharsons followed on the 12th; and the rest were to file off successively as they arrived at Perth.

Perth. By this time two small sloops had come to Perth from Dundee, with powder, ball, pickaxes, shovels, biscuit, wine, and spirits, 15 swivel-guns, and 500 firelocks, that had been brought from France.

By the 12th, the rebels, having got all their cannon over the Forth, had broken ground between the church of Stirling and a large house called Mar's work, for mounting a battery against the castle. By the 14th, they got two pieces of cannon of sixteen-pounders, two of eight, and three of three; and had also a great number of fascines; but were not able to plant their cannon, Gen. Blakeney having fired upon them several times, and demolished their works; so that the siege went on very slowly, the highlanders being little used to enterprises of that kind.

There was now a considerable body of forces assembled at Edinburgh, consisting of 12 battalions of foot and two regiments of dragoons, regular troops; the Edinburgh and Glasgow regiments, and the Paisley militia, irregulars: for Gen. Hawley had dismissed the country-militia, with orders to be ready 'at a call. The General therefore resolved to march to the relief of Stirling castle; because if the rebels should succeed in the siege, it would give their arms an additional reputation; would furnish them with an opportunity of securing the country behind them, for the rest of the winter; induce them to fortify Perth; and render them capable of maintaining themselves along the coasts, on both sides of the country, which would facilitate their receiving supplies from abroad.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 13th, Gen. Hawley detached Maj.-Gen. Huske, with five battalions of foot, the Glasgow regiment, and Hamilton and Ligonier's dragoons, towards Linlithgow. On this occasion the loyal inhabitants of Edinburgh furnished near 3000 pair of blankets for the use of the royal forces; and offered a further supply, if it should be necessary. The same morning, about 1100

rebels, (for their friends in Edinburgh took care to inform them of every thing that passed in that city), under the command of Lord George Murray and Lord Elcho, marched from Falkirk towards Linlithgow, to carry off what provisions they could meet with. But, soon after their arrival at Linlithgow, Gen. Huske with the troops appeared near the town. Upon his approach, the rebels instantly retired towards Falkirk, without being able to pick up any great quantity of provisions, and with such precipitation that he could not come up with them. He therefore took post at Linlithgow, to wait the arrival of the rest of the army. Next morning, the 14th, three regiments more marched from Edinburgh, for Borrowstounness, two miles north of Linlithgow, to be at hand to support Gen. Huske, in case the whole body of the rebels should march to attack him. The remainder of the troops marched on the 15th. The artillery, consisting of ten field-pieces, all brass, followed the same day; as did Gen. Hawley himself on the 16th, with Cobham's dragoons, who had come from England to Dalkeith only the day before. Along with the army marched William Thornton, Esq; a Yorkshire gentleman, with a company, called the Yorkshire blues, raised, maintained, and commanded by himself; as did likewise several other volunteers, among whom were some ecclesiastics. The Earl of Hopeton, a worthy patriot, gave twelve guineas to each regiment of foot, and the same sum to the dragoons, to buy beef.

Every body now expected, that the rebellion would be quashed at once, if the rebels should stand a battle, and the country be effectually cleared of the highland banditti. But how vain are the expectations of men! the day of deliverance was not yet arrived, nor could any body divine who would be the happy instrument.—Maj. Gen. Huske, with eight battalions, marched from Linlithgow towards Falkirk, on the morning of the 16th; and was there joined by 1000 highlanders from Argyleshire,

Argyleshire, under Lt-Col. John Campbell. Next day, the 17th, the whole royal army, consisting of about 8600 foot and 900 horse, assembled at Falkirk, six long miles east from Stirling. Gen. Hawley ordered the army to incamp about a mile south-west from Falkirk, not intending to attack the rebels that day, who were posted in and about the Tor-wood, both in regard to the foulness of the weather, and because he was desirous of obtaining such intelligence of the rebels motions as might enable him to make an advantageous disposition for employing his cavalry and artillery; but resolving to march for that purpose early next morning. Having, however, sent out that day several persons to reconnoitre, from them he learned that the rebels had been in motion early in the morning, as they had also been the day before; and at one o'clock after noon he received certain intelligence, that they were in full march to attack him. They consisted of the battalions of Keppoch, Clanronald, Glengary, Lochiel, Appin, Cluny, Frazer, Athol, Ogilvie, Nairn, Farquharson, Lord Lewis Gordon, and the French under Lord John Drummond, with 500 horse; in all 8200 men; the Duke of Perth being left at Stirling with a party to push on the siege of the castle. About one o'clock they were seen at three miles distance, marching in two columns towards the south, to some rising grounds upon a moor near Falkirk; a policy which contributed to their advantage, as it gave them the weather-gage of the royal army, when the day was stormy and rainy. Gen. Hawley, on notice of this, got his troops under arms; formed them in the front of the camp; and bent his march towards the same ground to which it was apprehended the rebels were going, being a large mile on the left of the camp. But as soon as the troops were got thither, they perceived the rebels moving up, with their right extending to the south. The rebel-army drew up in two lines, without any body of reserve: the right wing was commanded by Lord George Murray,

ray, the left by Lord John Drummond; and the young pretender was in the centre, with all the cavalry, and the Appin-men. On the other hand, the King's forces were drawn up in two lines, having the three regiments of dragoons on the left; with the Argyleshire highlanders and the Glasgow regiment in the reserve. Gen. Hawley commanded the left wing, and Gen. Huske the right. Both armies were now eager to possess the eminency of the hill; both were very near; and, about three o'clock, were both ascending the hill, in a violent storm of wind and rain, which blew full in the faces of the royal forces. Gen. Hawley could not get his cannon up the acclivity of the hill; and he perceived that a morais on his left hand had given the rebels an opportunity of outflanking him. When the first line was within 100 yards of the rebels, orders were given for the lines to advance, and a body of dragoons, led on by Col. Ligonier, to attack them sword in hand, while the foot were ascending the hill to sustain them. The rebels had extended their right wing along the back of the hill, out of sight, in order to attack the dragoons, upon their reaching the summit of it. At the same time the royal infantry, out of breath with the quickness of the march and the badness of the weather, were endeavouring to climb up the ascent. The dragoons, as soon as they got to the top of the hill, made the attack, with the appearance of the greatest resolution, and somewhat discomposed the first line of the rebels; but upon the rebels advancing, and giving them a fire, they gave ground, and drove back upon the foot; though their officers, particularly Col. Ligonier and Lt-Col. Whitney, did all that was possible to rally them. By this accident the panic was spread to the foot of both lines, who, after an irregular fire, occasioned partly by the rain wetting their powder, so that scarce one musket in five went off, and partly by the unhappy panic, followed the example of the dragoons,

goons, every where retiring, except on the right; where Brig. Cholmondeley rallied the regiments of Barrel and Ligonier, who resolutely advanced, and fairly drove the rebels before them. At the same time Lt-Gen. Hawley endeavoured, though in vain, to rally the dragoons: but Maj.-Gen. Huske, with wonderful prudence and presence of mind, drew together a body of the foot, consisting chiefly of the Old Buffs and Price's, and formed them at some distance, in the rear of the regiments headed by Brig. Cholmondeley; which intimidated the rebels from advancing on the right, and gave Brig. Mordaunt time to rally and form the scattered battalions into their several corps. In this situation the rebels did not offer to advance against the royal forces. It was particularly unlucky for the latter, that they could not get up their artillery, by reason of the steepness of the hill, and the bad condition of the horses: and it was equally their loss, that their powder was become so damp through the heavy rain, that it would not take fire. And therefore night coming on, they found it impossible to remain with safety on the field of battle; and were therefore obliged to retire to their camp; where they found, that Capt. Koningham, commander of the train, had cowardly abandoned it, and that the drivers, following his example, had run off with the horses; so that they could not find horses for bringing off more than three pieces of the ten. And when they came to strike their tents, many of the drivers had also run off with the horses; so that, to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels, they were forced to set fire to those which could not be carried off. The Glasgow regiment, who had been posted at some farm-houses to guard the baggage, resolutely withstood the panic, and maintained their ground, notwithstanding they saw the dragoons and part of the foot give way, until they were ordered to retreat. The rebels, beholding the good countenance of the royal troops, notwithstanding the

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the confusion they had been put into, did not offer to pursue them. From Falkirk the army marched that night to Linlithgow, six miles eastward, where it was determined they should remain; but finding they had no powder that would take fire, occasioned by the excessive rain for twenty-four hours before, they therefore resolved to march back to Edinburgh next morning, the 18th, where the whole army arrived about four o'clock after noon.

In this unhappy affair the whole loss of the King's army in killed, wounded, and prisoners, did not exceed 300 men; though many were positive it was not near so considerable. Among the killed were Col. Sir Robert Monro of Foulis, Dr Duncan Monro, his brother, who had accompanied the Colonel out of pure fraternal affection, Lt-Col. Whitney of Ligonier's dragoons, Lt-Col. Powel of Cholmondeley's foot, and Lt-Col. Biggar of Monro's, with several inferior officers. Capt. Thornton, commander of the Yorkshire volunteers, who was taken prisoner, with his lieutenant and 17 of his men, afterwards made his escape, and came to Edinburgh on the 23d; as did three days before 170 men, who were supposed to be lost; and 25 men escaped from the church of Falkirk, and came to Edinburgh the same day that Mr Thornton arrived there. Most of the prisoners, it was said, belonged to the Glasgow regiment, or were country-people who came to see the battle out of curiosity. On the other hand, by all accounts, the loss of the rebels was considerable, both in killed and wounded: but in the account of this action printed by them at Bannockburn, they gave out that they had only about 40 men killed, including two or three captains and some subalterns, and near double that number wounded; among which last were Lord John Drummond, young Lochiel, and his brother. And in that account they pretended they made above 700 prisoners, and reckoned above 600 were killed on the field of battle. And in an account sent to their friends abroad

abroad, they computed the loss of the royal army much after the same manner, but owned that of the prisoners only 250 were regular troops. And in that account last mentioned they further say, that they took 7 pieces of cannon, 3 mortars, 1 pair of kettledrums, 2 pair of colours, 3 standards, about 600 muskets, a large quantity of granadoes, 4000 weight of powder, 28 waggons loaded with military stores, tents for 5000 men, and all the baggage that escaped the flames. Maj. Macdonald of Tayendrish was taken prisoner, brought to Edinburgh, and committed to the castle. He was afterwards hanged at Carlisle.

Both sides claimed the victory. It is certain, that the pretensions of both were ill founded. The rebels had no great reason to brag of their advantage, notwithstanding they had all advantages of wind and weather on their side; for they were kept at bay in the close of the engagement by a handful of troops; and they did not once offer to pursue, but allowed the King's troops to retire very peaceably to Linlithgow. All the advantage they reaped by it was, a few field-pieces, with some military stores, that were damaged by the excessive rains; maintaining themselves a while at Stirling, and pushing on the siege of the castle there to their own loss. On the other hand, the royal army did not lose much, if we except some brave officers, who, however, died in the bed of honour, in defence of a glorious cause: and it is not to be doubted, but that, if they had not had the weather to struggle with, they were in a fair way of totally routing the rebels, and extinguishing the rebellion at once. But though the King's army miscarried at this time, we shall find in the sequel, that they did the business effectually in the very next engagement, though after a long and tedious march in pursuit of the rebels.

The young pretender marched back to Stirling on the afternoon of the 18th. That day he twice summoned the castle to surrender: but Gen. Blakeney's

answer was, That he had always been looked upon as a man of honour, and that the rebels should find he would die so. The siege was therefore continued, but proceeded very slowly. Gen. Blakeney fired so often upon the men at work on the batteries, and with so much execution, that the rebels could not get any of their own people to go near them; for which reason their French auxiliaries were ordered upon that service. And notwithstanding the activity of the latter, they got not their batteries erected till the 27th, having only till then fired on the castle with small arms from the houses, but without doing any harm. That day, however, they had two batteries erected; one at Gowan-hill, within forty yards of the castle, and the other at Lady's hill, each consisting of three pieces of cannon. They began to fire from the former in the morning of the 29th, by which the upper part of the walls was slightly damaged; and in order to intimidate the inhabitants, a drum was sent round the town, with notice, that every person that was taken near the castle should be shot; and that if any of the townspeople entertained any of the wives or children of the soldiers who were in the castle, they should be punished with military execution. All this time the cannon from the castle played furiously on the rebel-batteries, and cut off a good number of the besiegers.

During all these transactions the rebels were in great distress for want of provisions; Gen. Hawley having sent out parties to the westward, to seize all the meal they could find, and the King's sloops being dispatched up the Forth to burn the boats which the rebels employed in bringing over meal from Alloa. The scarcity was so great, that the soldiers that had been taken prisoners at Falkirk, were almost starved; and their small allowance was forced from them by those who were their guards. To prevent the escape of the prisoners, most of them, except some officers, were sent to Down castle on the 25th, where they lived

lived in extreme distress, and the greatest body of the rebels were cantoned in and about Falkirk.

As some of the King's troops had misbehaved at the late battle, a court-martial was ordered for their trial, of which Brig. Mordaunt was appointed president. The proceedings began Jan. 20. and the court sat several days. Some private men of the foot were condemned to be shot for cowardice, but were afterwards reprieved. Others who had misbehaved, were severely whipped. Four Irishmen, three of whom had deserted to the French in Flanders, and were taken on board the *Lewis XV.* mentioned above, and a fourth who had insisted with the rebels after the action at Preston, were hanged in the Grass-market, Edinburgh, on the 24th.

Mean time preparations were making in that city for marching the army a second time against the rebels. Sempill's, Campbell's (the Scotch fusileers), and Bligh's foot, were on their march for Edinburgh, before the late action; and Mark Kerr's, St George's, and Bland's dragoons, with Kingston's light horse, were now ordered thither likewise. Sempill's regiment arrived the evening of the battle, and the fusileers a day or two after. The military chest, from England, was brought in on the 21st, and lodged in the castle. Upwards of forty gunners and matrosses, with sixteen pieces of brass cannon, and stores, from Newcastle, arrived on the 26th.

About the time of the late battle, all the officers who had been taken at Preston, and had been in custody in several places of Angus and Fife, were delivered by armed parties of his Majesty's loyal subjects from Dundee and other places, and safely carried to Edinburgh, where they arrived on the 19th. They put on their swords and cockades about the beginning of February, by an order from the King. Some have censured them for breaking their parole, without reflecting, that, as they were forcibly carried off from

under the rebel-clutches, their parole was now at an end ; just as much as an officer who makes his escape from a place where he was confined, is at liberty to rejoin his regiment, and fight with them against their enemy. But it is not at all surprising to find an historian censuring their conduct, when his design is evidently to expose the government under which he lives, and vindicate the rebellion against it. And soon after this affair, the Glasgow regiment was honourably dismissed, and thanked, by his Majesty's special order, for the good service they had done to their King and country. Both officers and men retired to their respective abodes, not without offering their service again, if it should be necessary.

Towards the end of the month, the Hazard sloop, which had been taken by the rebels, as we have related above, sailed from Montrose for France, with the news of their late advantage, which was magnified extremely, in hopes of obtaining large succours. But though Cardinal Tencin interested himself greatly in favour of the young pretender, he could not prevail on the French monarch to order the promised succours for Scotland, without the assistance of the Spanish Squadron at Ferrol, which the Catholic King was not disposed to grant ; so that Charles, though encouraged by France and Spain to undertake so dangerous an enterprise, was abandoned to his own fortune ; which might convince him, that he now was, what he ever would be, only the occasional tool of their politics, not the real object of their care. About the same time a Spanish privateer arrived at Peterhead, with nine tuns of gunpowder, three chests of money, and several chests of small arms ; all which were landed, and the money and powder conducted by a party of the rebels to Montrose. The privateer was soon after taken and burnt, by one of his Majesty's ships. The bulk of this ship's loading was afterwards taken
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and destroyed at Corgarf castle, by a detachment from the royal army.

It should not be forgotten, that Gen. Hawley, who, it is alledged, had boasted, that, with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebel-army from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred abundance of censure for the disposition he made, as well as for his conduct before and after the action; but he found means to vindicate himself to the satisfaction of his sovereign. Nevertheless, as there was a murmuring both among the officers and soldiers at this gentleman's conduct, and as the army expressed a strong desire to be headed by a general in whom they could place an entire confidence; the King, on notice thereof, directed the Duke of Cumberland to repair to Scotland, to take upon him the command of the army there. His R. Highness was greatly beloved by the army, who promised to encounter any dangers under his conduct; and it was suggested, that the presence of a prince of the blood in Scotland might produce very good effects in the minds of the people there; that it would tend to reanimate the dejected spirits of the soldiers, extinguish animosities among them, encourage the well-affected, and strike terror into the minds of the vain and insolent rebels. His Royal highness cheerfully accepted the proposal: the service of his country, the protection of the Protestant succession, the happiness of his illustrious family, and his own glory, all summoned him to complete what he had already so gloriously begun; all contributed to rouse his martial ardour; and therefore he eagerly flew to appear again at the head of those brave troops, whose courage he had seen so nobly displayed in the battle of Fontenoy.

The Duke accordingly set out from London between twelve and one in the morning of the 25th, and travelled with such surprising expedition, that he arrived at the palace of Holyroodhouse about three in the morning of the 30th. His R. Highness was attended

tended by the Duke of Athol, the Earl of Albemarle, Lord Cathcart, Lord Visc. Bury, Cols Conway and Yorke, his aids-de-camp. The news of his R. Highness's journey was received at Edinburgh with the greatest joy; and there were the most splendid illuminations and bonfires, with ringing of bells, &c. ever known in that city and the suburbs, the evening of the 29th, in expectation of his arrival. Great multitudes marched several miles east to meet the magnanimous Prince, and welcome him as their destined deliverer. Every thing being ready when the Duke arrived, his R. Highness immediately gave the necessary orders for the march of the army. He received the compliments of the clergy, the university of Edinburgh, the principal inhabitants of the city, &c. on the 30th. That day he viewed the artillery in the Abbey-cloze, where he was surrounded by a prodigious multitude of people, who made the air to ring with their repeated huzza's. The troops were now in the highest spirits, and cried to be led to action, to atone for and repair their late miscarriage. Accordingly, early next morning the 31st, the army, consisting of fourteen battalions, (*viz.* the twelve that had been at the late battle, and Sempill's, and the Scotch fusileers), the Argyleshire highlanders, Cobham's dragoons, and four troops of Lord Mark Kerr's, marched from Edinburgh to the westward. Never did an army march with greater appearances of joy and resolution than this now did: joy was painted in every face, and courage displayed in every look: A happy omen of their future success. Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons were ordered to patrolle along the roads leading westward from Edinburgh, in order to prevent any intelligence being sent to the rebels, which their friends at Edinburgh took every opportunity of doing. The Edinburgh regiment and city-guard were the only troops left in town, and therefore some of the country-militia were now called in. Between nine and ten his R. Highness passed through

through the city in the Earl of Hopeton's coach ; but when he had got to the west side of it, he mounted his horse, and soon came up with the army.

Though the Duke's army consisted of fourteen battalions, yet they were all of them greatly diminished, and some of them not above half complete : yet what they wanted in numbers, they made up in spirits and courage ; they were become bold as lions, and longed to face the rebels. His R. Highness had as general officers under him, Lt-Generals William Anne Earl of Albemarle, and Henry Hawley ; Maj.-Generals Humphry Bland, John Huske, and Hugh Lord Semple ; and Brig. John Mordaunt.

His R. Highness arrived at Linlithgow in the evening of the 31st, and quartered there that night with eight battalions, while Brig. Mordaunt, with six others, lay at Borrowstounness. The dragoons were posted in the adjacent villages, and Col. Campbell, with the Argyle-shiremen, took post in the front, towards the Avon. A considerable body of the rebels was then at Falkirk, and some of them appeared on the hills between that place and Linlithgow. As the rebels gave out, that they intended to stand another action with the King's forces, so his R. Highness expected, that, flushed with their late success, they would have given him an opportunity of finishing the affair at once ; which (as his R. Highness observed in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle), he was morally sure, would have been in his favour, as the troops in general shewed all the spirit that he could wish, and would have retrieved what slips were past. Next morning, Feb. 1. having reviewed the whole army at Linlithgow, his R. Highness immediately began his march towards Falkirk, expecting to meet the rebels to the westward of that town. The rebels advanced parties immediately retired on the approach of those of the royal army ; and their foremost scouts brought in some stragglers ; from whom his R. Highness, to his great astonishment, learned that the rebels

rebels had raised the siege of Stirling castle, had nailed up their cannon, and were repassing the Forth in the utmost confusion, being afraid to look him in the face. This information was soon confirmed by a violent explosion, like the blowing up of a magazine, which was distinctly heard by the royal army. On their arrival at Falkirk, the Duke immediately detached Brig. Mordaunt, with the Argyleshiremen, and all the dragoons, in pursuit of the flying rebels. The Brigadier got to Stirling that night; where he found the rebels had abandoned their camp, with all their artillery, and had blown up their great magazine in the church of St Ninian's, where they had a store of about 6000 lb. of powder, which was done with so little care or discretion, that four or five of the rebels and ten of the townspeople were killed, and several wounded. They also left behind them all the wounded men they had taken prisoners at Falkirk, and about twenty of their own sick people.

Next day, Feb. 2. the Duke entered Stirling with his whole army; where he was joyfully received by the loyal inhabitants, welcomed by a triple discharge of the cannon of the castle, and received the compliments of Gen. Blakeney, and his officers, whose services were highly commended by his R. Highness, for their gallant defence of such an important fortress. The castle would have held out; but the provisions and firing were almost consumed.

The news of the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland struck a mighty damp upon the rebels; and they were so surpris'd, or rather infatuated, on hearing of it, that they published a proclamation at Stirling, offering a reward to any that would discover the author of that damnable lie, that the person commonly called the Duke of Cumberland was arrived in Scotland. The intelligence however proving too true, when they heard that his R. Highness was got to Linlithgow, they held a council, and drew out their men, declaring that they

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would meet him : but as soon as the baggage and the cannon they lately took were moved off, they told the country-people that they were going to meet a reinforcement ; but that, as they could not carry away all their plunder, they would give it to them ; and that it was in St Ninian's church ; where they had made a magazine of powder and ball. When the country-people came to take the plunder away, the rebels attempted to set fire to the magazine ; but the first train happily missing, several escaped : but the second suddenly taking fire, four of the rebels and ten of the townspeople were blown up and buried in the ruins.— This shocking instance of barbarity, scarce to be paralleled in history, will remain a lasting blot upon the character of the pretender, and his adherents*.

By this flight of the rebels, several of their prisoners, who were confined in Down castle, made their escape ; as did likewise Maj. Lockhart, and young Mr Gordon of Ardoch. The rest of the prisoners were carried off, except the Glasgow hostages, who were permitted to return home. Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre, and Mr Griffiths, who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Preston, were soon after released. So that few, if any of the officers taken in that action, were now in the rebels hands.

Charles, by this precipitate flight, lost all footing in the southern part of Scotland, and was forced to bid it adieu ; never more to return, to his great grief, and that of his friends. After fording the Forth at Frew, his army proceeded to Crieff, and then separating, marched in three different corps ; the clans, with their

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* See the Rev. Mr Mackie's account of this horrid tragedy, in Scots Mag. 1746, p. 221. ; from which it appears, that the rebels really laid a plot to destroy the innocent country-people ; and that if they had intended no more than to destroy their magazine, to prevent its falling into the hands of the King's forces, that might have been done another way, without either destroying the church, or hurting any mortal.

pretended prince, by Taybridge; a body of Lowlanders, by Dunkeld; and the third corps by Perth, which last town they entered Feb. 2. Nineteen carts came in there the same day; and the seven pieces of cannon taken at Falkirk, with four covered waggons, were likewise brought in on the 3d. The persons of the greatest distinction that came to Perth were, the French ambassador, the Earl of Kilmarnock, Lords Pitligo, Elcho, Ogilvy, Lewis Gordon, George Murray, and John Drummond, Sec. Murray, Sir John Macleod and his brother, Brig. Stapleton, Majors Nairn and Kennedy, and Mr Mitchell. Here they made no stay; but even on the 3d, they sent the seven pieces of brass cannon, four covered waggons, and fourteen carts with ammunition, to Dunkeld. The same day, the main body of horse and foot, consisting of the life-guards, Pitligo's, Ogilvie's, and Sir James Kinloch's men, crossed the Tay, and took their route for Montrose by the way of Cupar of Angus. On the 4th, the French piquets, and 140 men commanded by Fakkally and Blairfetty, passed the river likewise; as did Lord G. Murray, Strathallan, Gask, and the rest of the gentlemen above-mentioned; except Sec. Murray, the French ambassador, Lord Kilmarnock, and Macleod of Raza, who went for Dunkeld. Though the rebels had made some considerable fortifications at Perth, yet they did not chuse to make a stand there, or run the risk of defending the place against the royal forces: they therefore abandoned it wholly Feb. 4. leaving thirteen pieces of iron cannon, about eight and twelve pounders, nailed up; and throwing into the river a great quantity of cannon-balls, ammunition, and fourteen swivel-guns that formerly belonged to the Hazard sloop. The sailors of this sloop, prisoners here, were set at liberty.

The rebels at Perth gave out, that their first column was to march from Dunkeld, through Athol and Bardenoch, towards Inverness; the second, by Cupar, towards

towards Brechin; and the third, by Dundee and Montrose, to Aberdeen, where the second and third columns were to unite, and then to join the first near Inverness, with design to possess themselves of that important post. And they were so politic in their measures, that this separation was at first looked upon by the generals of the royal army as an absolute dispersion: but their real designs were so much to the contrary, that the rebel-chiefs, soon after their flight from Stirling, gave their pretended prince a new demonstration of their invariable attachment to him, in signing an association, by which they solemnly engaged never to abandon his interest; and at the same time Charles gave them the strongest assurances, that, whatever might be the fate of his enterprise, he was resolved to die sword in hand, rather than desist from his pretensions. The rebels were sensible how much their retreat had the appearance of a flight; were conscious what an alarm it would occasion among their friends, both at home and abroad; and therefore urged a variety of motives to justify their conduct; alledging, that their men were so loaded with booty, that they were under a necessity of permitting them to carry it home; that they found great difficulty in subsisting their troops at Stirling; that, by moving northward, they facilitated the junction of any succours from France, as well as their expected reinforcements from the western coast of Scotland, and other parts; that though they had taken upwards of 1000 tents at the battle of Falkirk, yet they could not prevail on the highlanders to make use of them, who chose rather to lie in the open fields, in their usual manner, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, which must have been extremely prejudicial to their healths; that, after so fatiguing a campaign, some recess was requisite; and that, when they had refreshed and recruited their forces, and the rigour of the season was abated, they would not fail to make another irruption into the lowlands. But whatever they might

pretend, it may be more naturally conceived to be a design of protracting the war ; that, by carrying it into the highlands, they might make it extremely onerous and uneasy to the royal forces ; that there the rebels might obtain frequent opportunities of harassing and surprising their pursuers, and have a fair chance of rendering them weary of following them through their natal countries, where it would, they thought, be impossible for the King's troops to have magazines and other requisites for so considerable an army. In the next place, they were persuaded, that by removing the war into the highlands, and disseminating a report that the Duke of Cumberland would inflict terrible severities where-ever he came, they would keep their men together, draw out others, and render them a terror to their adversaries. By this means, too, they would afford a fair opportunity to the French of attempting an invasion in the south ; which they flattered themselves would relieve them from all difficulties. And to all this might be added, that they had formed a project of making themselves masters of the chain of fortifications from Fort William to Inverness ; by which they would not only secure the country behind them, but, if the wished-for invasion from France should not take place, would be in the way of receiving the expected succours from thence ; of which indeed they had hitherto had large promises, though but ineffectual performances.

The Duke of Cumberland having arrived at Stirling with his whole army Feb. 2. gave immediate orders for repairing the arch of the bridge which had been broke down by Gen. Blakeney's order, as has been related above. This having been done by six o'clock in the morning of the 4th, with timber which had been mostly provided by the rebels for the same purpose, that day the army passed over. The advanced guard, consisting of the Argyleshire highlanders and the dragoons, went on to Crieff, and the foot were cantoned in

in and about Dumblain. The Duke proceeded to Crieff on the 5th, and the advanced guard to Perth, where his R. Highness arrived on the 6th, with the main body of the army. Here magazines of bread and forage were ordered to be laid in, for the subsistence of the troops, because it was necessary to remain there for a few days, in order to rest the foot after the great fatigue they had undergone. But to prevent any surprises from the rebels, and scour the adjacent country, two detachments, of 500 foot each, were immediately sent from Perth; one to Dunkeld, under the command of Lt-Col. Sir Andrew Agnew, to which 120 Argyleshire men were added; the other, under Lt-Col. Leighton, to Castle Menzies, a mile north of Tay, bridge.

In the march from Stirling to Perth, parties of the royal army stript and plundered the goods and effects of certain rebels, such as those of the Viscount of Strathallan, the Duke of Perth, &c. and carried off great numbers of cattle. These things they did, in revenge for the great fatigues they had undergone, and were likely to suffer, in pursuit of the rebels. And several persons were taken up at Perth on suspicion; such as the Duchess-dowager of Perth, the Viscountess of Strathallan, and others. They were all brought afterwards to Edinburgh, and committed prisoners to the castle.

Mean time the rebels marched northward. The young pretender was at Blair of Athol on the 6th, with a body of the clans. They marched thence on the 7th and 8th, with their baggage, and the prisoners taken at Falkirk. These prisoners were in a miserable condition, some of them wanting shoes and stockings. The rebels proceeded on to Ruthven in Badenoch, and having blown up the barracks there, marched on towards Inverness. Glenbucket, with about 300 men, and some cannon, had come to Ruthven on the 10th, and summoned the garrison in the barracks to surrender.

Lieut.

Lieut. Molloy commanded in the barracks, and had under him about twelve men. He had been formerly attacked by 200 highlanders in the beginning of September 1745, had made a bold defence, repulsed the rebels, killed three, and wounded six. Being then only a serjeant, he was, for that brave action, made a lieutenant. And he now made so gallant a defence, that he did not surrender till he obtained honourable terms.

While the young pretender with the clans is advancing towards Inverness by the highland road, those that took the coast-road, with the centre-column, made the best of their way towards Aberdeen. At Montrose, they nailed up all the cannon they had there except six, intending to carry them by sea to Aberdeen. Two of them were actually conveyed thence. But the other four were spiked up by a party landed from Adm. Byng's ship the Gloucester, Feb. 11. The two columns united at Aberdeen, committed several outrages there, and particularly obliged that town to pay them 500 l. Here they received some supplies, such as money, arms, cannon, and ammunition, saddles, and horse-furniture, by a ship from France, and a reinforcement of two troops of dismounted horse, of Fitz James's regiment. Five ships had sailed about the middle of February from Dunkirk, in order to reinforce them. But two of them, *viz.* the Bourbon and Charité, were taken off Ostend, Feb. 21. by Com. Knowles. On board these were the Count de Fitz James, Major-General, commandant; Maj.-Gen. Ruth; Brigs de Tyrconnel, Nugent, and Cooke; Col. Nugent; Lt-Col. Cople; Maj. Betagh; Capt. Baron de Butler, and three other captains; six lieutenants, five cornets, thirteen quartermasters, an almoner, a commissary of artillery, a commissary of provisions, a treasurer of the extraordinaries of war; a major-surgeon, six gunners, one corporal, one miner, a labourer; and nine companies of Fitz James's regiment,

ment, making together about 360 men. There was likewise on board all their saddles, arms, and horse-furniture, some ammunition, and the military chest, containing about 5000 l. Of this whole embarkation only about 140 men reached Scotland, and joined the rebels.

The young pretender, being joined by several parties of his people that took their route through Aberdeen, arrived in the neighbourhood of Inverness Feb. 16. This party was said to be 4000 strong. Lord Loudon, however, with 1500 men, marched from Inverness that day to beat up their quarters, and had got half-way undiscovered; when a detachment which he had sent to prevent intelligence, going a nearer way, contrary to orders, fired about thirty shot at four men, which alarmed the country, and threw the body along with his Lordship into confusion; during which a great many of his people dispersed; so that it was necessary to march back to Inverness. Here the Earl finding himself unable to defend the place with the numbers that remained with him, threw two independent companies into Fort George; with a sufficient quantity of provisions; and having put on ship-board what arms and ammunition there was no present use for, on the 18th at noon, he marched out of Inverness, and crossed the ferry at Kessack without the loss of a man, though the rebels were in possession of one end of the town before he left the other. From thence he passed over into Cromarty; and soon after crossed at Tayne, in order to put himself behind the river in a defensible post. Mean time, the rebels having got possession of Inverness, immediately invested Fort George, which was commanded by Maj. Grant, with two companies of Grants and Mackruds, and 80 regular troops. Maj. Grant had been ordered to defend the castle to the last extremity; but he basely or cowardly surrendered it to the rebels on the 20th. Here they got 16 pieces of cannon, with ammunition,

100 barrels of beef, and other provisions. The rebels soon after blew up the fort. The Major was afterwards tried by a court-martial, when he was adjudged to be dismissed the royal service, and rendered incapable of ever holding any military office under the government: The just reward of his cowardice and pusillanimity.

The young pretender now fixed his head quarters at Inverness, from whence he sent detachments through the neighbouring countries, who exercised great severities against all whom they thought to be disaffected to their cause, and particularly rifled the Lord President's house at Culloden. At the same time they published an order, declaring it death to any who should convey letters to, or correspond with the friends of the government.

The Duke of Athol, who had come along with the Duke of Cumberland from London, crossed the Forth at Leith, Feb. 4. and was at Perth when his R. Highness arrived there. He resolved to go to his own country, in order to reclaim, if possible, his rebel-vassals. For this purpose, his Grace published a declaration, requiring all his vassals to come to Dunkeld and Kirkmichael, and join the troops sent or to be sent thither to disarm and apprehend the rebels, on pain of their being proceeded against with the utmost severity in case of refusal. Several obeyed; but the majority were with the rebels, under the command of his Grace's brothers, the Marquis and Lord George; to whom they were particularly attached.

The King having directed the Hessian troops in British pay to be transported from Flanders into Scotland, they accordingly arrived in Leith road on the 8th in four days from Williamstadt. They were commanded by Pr. Frederick of Hesse, son-in-law to the King; who was accompanied by John Earl of Crawford and the Prince of Hershburg. The Prince and the Earl of Crawford came ashore the night they arrived. He lodged

lodged in the royal palace of Holyroodhouse; was saluted, on his arrival, by the ships, and by the castle of Edinburgh; persons of distinction paid him their compliments; and he was entertained, during his stay, with balls, concerts of music, assemblies, &c. An express was sent to the Duke of Cumberland with an account of the arrival of the Hessians; and his R. Highness directed them to be landed at Leith. They were cantoned in and about Edinburgh and the suburbs. Both men and horses looked extremely well. The troops observed strict discipline, and were very kindly received by the inhabitants. As only a few women had come along with them, and these none of the most handsome; it is not therefore to be wondered at that they should be particularly fond of our Scotch women, who far eclipsed the Hessian ladies in beauty and shape. And it is inconceivable to think that our fair countrywomen should be as fond of these foreigners, who wore mustachoes, had something grim and stern in their looks, and were of a strange language. Yet love and gallantry took place on both sides; the Hessian Prince set the example; and many of the men, both officers and soldiers, entered into matrimonial engagements with the Scottish beauties. Every regiment had a chaplain, who preached to them both on Lord's days and work-days. They were accommodated with some of the churches in the city, and with the Seceding meeting-house in Bristo. Their worship was decently performed, and regularly attended. Multitudes crowded to their assemblies, and their music was universally admired.

The Duke of Cumberland made a trip from Perth to Edinburgh on the 15th; and having concerted with the Prince of Hesse the most proper measures for employing those forces to the best advantage, his R. Highness returned next day to the army. Bligh's foot had come to Edinburgh Feb. 1. having been furnished with horses by the country-people, to expedite their march;

and about the middle of the month St George's dragoons, with Kingston's light horse, and parties of Mark Kerr's dragoons, and of Johnson's foot, came to Edinburgh, and proceeded to join the Duke. On the 9th, Maj-Gen. Campbel had come to Perth, with four companies of western highlanders; but his Excellency was soon after sent back to Argyleshire; and his son, the lieutenant-colonel, with 600 men, was kept, to accompany the army, and go upon parties.

As soon as the aforementioned detachments from the royal army under Lt-Colonels Leighton and Agnew took post at Castle-Menzies and Dunkeld, the rebels retired from Blair of Athol. Upon which Sir Andrew Agnew marched to Blair castle, being accompanied by the Duke of Athol. By the 14th the Duke of Cumberland sent three battalions of foot to Cupar of Angus, and a regiment of dragoons to Dundee. On the 20th his R. Highness put the troops in motion from Perth in four divisions; each of which was to have two days halt at Montrose in their way to Aberdeen. The Scots fusileers were left at Perth under the command of Maj. Colvill; Sir Andrew Agnew, with 500 men, was to remain at Blair; and Capt. Webster, with 200 men, at Castle Menzies. The Duke, at the time of his march from Perth, intended to have reembarked the Hessians for Flanders; but soon after, apprehending the possibility of the rebels attempting to slip again into the low country, and of their being reinforced from France, he countermanded the reembarkation of the Hessians, ordered four battalions of them to march to Perth, and two to Stirling, St George's dragoons to be posted at the bridge of Earn, and the remains of Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons to be posted at Bannockburn, near Stirling; the whole under the command of Pr. Frederick of Hesse, and the Earl of Crawford, as general of horse. By this disposition, there would be a sufficient corps to deal with
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the rebels, should they attempt to go south, or attack the posts at Blair, Castle Menzies, &c. Bligh's battalion was ordered to go to Aberdeen by sea, and arrived there on the 25th of March.

While the Duke was at Montrose, Capt. Koningam, who had the command of the train at Falkirk, and cowardly abandoned it, was brought to the head of the artillery on the 24th, had his sword broke over his head, his sash thrown on the ground, and was himself dismissed the service*. From Montrose the army marched to Aberdeen, where the first division arrived on the 25th, and the rest of the army a day or two after. Here the Duke was received with the greatest joy, as their deliverer from the highland banditti and ravagers; and was waited upon by the noblemen and gentlemen in the neighbourhood, who all welcomed him as their saviour, with offers of their service. The day after his arrival, the Earl of Ancrum was detached with 100 dragoons, and Maj. Morris with 300 foot, to Corgarf castle at the head of the river Don, forty miles from Aberdeen, to seize a quantity of Spanish arms and powder which had been lately landed, and lodged there. The detachment took them without resistance, the rebels having quitted the castle upon their approach: but as the horses of the country had been driven away, they were obliged to destroy most of the arms, and thirty barrels of powder. Towards the end of the month, the Laird of Grant's people were in arms for the government, headed by the young Laird Mr Ludovick, and were marching to Aberdeen to join the army; and by that time the French ship that had landed French soldiers, &c. at Aberdeen, was destroyed by Capt. Dyves of his Majesty's ship the Win-

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chelsea.

* Immediately on the army's arrival at Edinburgh after the action at Falkirk, he had cut an artery, in order to destroy himself, and avoid the disgrace he so justly merited; but the wound did not prove mortal. His trial was therefore postponed till now.

chelsea. At this time the main body of the rebels, with their pretended prince, were at Inverness; a party under Lords Lewis Gordon and John Drummond were at Gordon castle, on the south side of the Spey; and a strong body, computed at 2 or 3000 men, at Elgin, and Fochabers, on both sides of that river, with two pieces of cannon, which they had coasted along from Montrose, as is observed above. They gave out that they would dispute the passage of the Spey with the King's forces, should they march that way. But when it came to the trial, they fled with precipitation, as the sequel will show.

About the beginning of March the Hessians, with their artillery, moved from Edinburgh for Perth, taking their route by Stirling. The Prince and the Earl of Crawford went from Edinburgh on the 5th. By the 10th their head quarters were at Perth. Thence the Prince took a tour northward by Dunkeld, Taymouth, &c. to reconnoitre, and returned to Perth on the 15th. The Scots fusileers, who had been left here, marched after the army to Aberdeen. While the Hessians were at Perth, Lord G. Murray marched from Ruthven in Badenoch with 700 men, consisting of Macphersons, Macintoshes, and Atholmen, in order to surprise Sir Andrew Agnew at Blair castle. This party, by marching all night, concealed their design so well, that they were within two miles of Blair before Sir Andrew had the least notice of their being nearer than Badenoch. Dividing into three separate bodies, at two in the morning of March 17. they surprised as many small parties of the Argyleshire highlanders; one at the foot of Rannoch, under the command of Colin Campbell of Glenure; others at Blairfetty three miles north, and at Kynichan, three miles west of Blair. About half a dozen were killed, and most of the rest taken prisoners. After this success, Lord George Murray marched immediately for Blair castle, the garrison of which, on notice of their approach, took in their
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sick and horses into the castle, with what forage and fewel they could get. Sir Andrew Agnew drew up his men before the castle, and offered the rebels battle, which they declined. He then retired into the castle, and made the proper dispositions for standing a siege. On the 18th the rebels began to play upon the castle with two pieces of cannon, a three-pounder and a four-pounder. But observing that no impression was made upon the wall, they pointed their cannon at the roof, and fired red-hot bullets, which did a good deal of damage to it, and to the wainscoting. Mean time intelligence of the siege being received at Perth, the Earl of Crawford, with Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons, and a detachment of the Hessians, marched thence in order to raise the siege. The Earl having reached Pitlochrie on the 1st of April, the rebels formed there to give him battle. Lord Crawford formed on the other side; and making a motion to advance against the rebels, the latter retired; with design, as they gave out, to decoy the troops into the pass of Killicranky. But missing their aim, and fearing least the Earl should steal a march upon them through the hills above Moulin, and hearing that a detachment was marching from Taybridge by Kynichan; therefore, for fear of being inclosed, they decamped in the night of April 1. and marched off with great precipitation for Badenoch, after having almost ruined the poor country. The rebels had fired 207 cannon-balls, of which 185 were red-hot, against the castle; the garrison of which were so reduced, that they had nothing to live upon but horse-flesh for some days before the rebels fled. The Earl of Crawford arrived at Blair on the 3d, and was followed by the Duke of Athol. The Prince of Hesse arrived two or three days after. And soon after all the troops returned to Perth.

During these transactions, other parties of the rebels were not idle. A party was detached from Inverness towards Fort Augustus, who invested it on the 23d of February.

February. The garrison, consisting of three companies of Guise's foot, amounting to about 140 men, commanded by Maj. Wentworth, defended themselves two days; but their powder-magazine taking fire, it is said they were thereupon obliged to surrender. The Major was afterwards tried by a court-martial, was adjudged to be dismissed the service, and rendered incapable of holding any military office under his Majesty. The rebels burnt Fort Augustus a little before the battle of Culloden.

After their success at Fort Augustus, the rebels determined to get possession of Fort William, a place of much greater importance. For this purpose several small parties took post on each side the narrows of Carron: but were dislodged thence by a party from Fort William, and some of the crews of the *Baltimore* and *Serpent* sloops, sent out for that purpose in several boats. They killed two of the rebels, and wounded several: and to prevent their nestling there again, they burnt down the ferryhouses on both sides of the water, and a little town with about twelve houses in it, a quarter of a mile distant from the ferryhouse on the north side, and destroyed or brought off all their boats. These proceedings produced a letter from Lochiel and Keppoch, of date March 20, in which they exclaimed against the Campbells, for burning houses and corn, killing horses, houghing cattle, stripping women and children, and exposing them to the severity of the weather in the open fields; threatened to make reprisals, if they could procure leave from their prince, by entering Argyleshire, and acting there at discretion; and by putting a Campbell to death for every house that should afterwards be burnt by that clan; extolled the lenity and moderation of the rebels, notwithstanding many malicious aspersions industriously spread to the contrary; and insinuated, that those who gave orders for the burning, could not answer for it to the British parliament

Soon

Soon after this, a party of the rebels, said to amount to 1500 men, consisting of Camerons, the Macdonalds of Keppoch and Glenco, and the Stewarts of Appin, and the greatest part of their French auxiliaries, commanded by Lochiel, marched to invest Fort William. They began to blockade it on the 24th of February, under the direction of Brig. Stapleton, an experienced engineer. The garrison consisted of about 600 men, and afterwards received some small reinforcements. The siege continued till the 3d of April. The rebels raised several batteries, and fired very briskly from the 20th of March till the 31st, when a sally was made by 150 men, who rushed in upon one of the rebel-batteries, and made themselves masters of three brass four-pounders, two mortars, and their furnace, the very same which the rebels had taken at the battle of Preston; they spiked up two large mortars, which they could not bring away, with one brass six-pounder, which they brought under the walls of the fort. They had only two men killed and three wounded; and brought in two prisoners, one of them a French gunner. On the 2d the rebels began to nail up their largest cannon, and to carry off their small ones. Next day they raised the siege, finding it impossible to carry the fort. The garrison, to the number of 500, immediately sallied out, but found the works deserted. They then took the rest of the cannon and mortars, and carried them into the fort: so that four brass four-pounders, four iron six-pounders, nine mortars, and their furnace, fell into the hands of the besieged; and during the siege they buried only six men, and had about twenty-four wounded. Capt. Scot acquired very great honour by his noble defence of this fort, which was a place of the utmost importance. The rebels lost a considerable number of men during the siege, and were at last obliged to relinquish it, to their loss and dishonour; thus failing in their project of making themselves masters of the principal fort on that side, which they had

had vainly flattered themselves with almost certain assurance of carrying.

But they were more successful in another quarter. Lord Loudon, after his retreat from Inverness, being ordered to join the Duke, was effectually prevented from doing so, and had been forced to retire into Sutherland. He took post at Dornoch, where he was reinforced by some of the Earl of Sutherland's people, consisting of 310 men, besides serjeants, corporals, and drums. The rebels, however, determined to dislodge him, because his activity greatly incommoded their enterprises. With this view, having collected a number of fishing-boats at Findhorn, and two other small places in the Murray frith, they put four men on board each, and, by the favour of a thick fog, which lasted eight days, coasted round Tarbotness to Tayne in Ross-shire, where a body of their men lay. There they embarked, to the number of about 1500, under the command of the Duke of Perth, the Earl of Cromerty, and Clanronald; and on the 20th of March, at eight in the morning, they crossed the ferry, and landed on the Sutherland side, about two miles west of Dornoch, where 200 men of Loudon's regiment were cantoned. On notice of the rebels landing, 140 of the loyal people retired eastward. The other 60 were surprised, and made prisoners; among whom were the Major, Mackenzie, who had been formerly in the Russian service, Captains Sutherland of Forse, and Macintosh of that Ilk, and Adj. Robert Grant. Lord Loudon had left Dornoch that morning about five o'clock, and gone westward to reconnoitre the different passes where the rest of his men were stationed; dreading nothing from that quarter, as he had carried all the boats over to the opposite shore, and thought it impracticable to bring any from the Murray frith, three war-ships being stationed there. On this event, his Lordship not judging it safe to remain longer in Sutherland, passed over, with the Lord President, the
Laird

Laird of Macleod, &c. and 800 men, into the isle of Sky ; where he arrived March 26. leaving a small part of his regiment, with the militia of the country, in Sutherland. Lord Loudon was immediately joined by Sir Alexander Macdonald of Slate.

But though the rebels were successful in this expedition, they soon after suffered a mortifying loss. The Hazard sloop, styled by the rebels the *Prince Charles* snow, had sailed from Montrose the 27th of January for France. She got into Dunkirk, and afterwards put to sea to return to Scotland. She was met off Ostend by two English privateers, who drove her ashore ; but being afterwards repaired, she sailed ; and, being an excellent sailer, escaped the vigilance of six or seven English ships that were cruising off that part to watch her. On the 24th of March she was descried by four English ships at anchor off Troup head ; on sight of which she bore away. Upon which the Sheerness, Capt. Obrian, cut her cable, gave her chase quite through Pentland frith, about 50 leagues, kept a running fight for five hours, and at last run her aground in Tongue-bay. Here the Hazard's crew landed late in the evening of the 25th, and came to a gentleman's house opposite to Tongue. Lord Rae's militia, and about 100 men of Loudon's regiment, with Captains Alexander Mackay, Sir Henry Monro, young Macleod, and Lord Charles Gordon, two subalterns, and the surgeon, were at this time not far from Tongue. Lord Rea, on notice of the landing of the men, having got notice of their number, immediately concerted with the officers the means of attacking them. Accordingly, about 50 of Loudon's men, and the like number of Rea's, marched by break of day, and in two hours came up with the French ; who had forced a guide to lead them off in the night. The French drew up, and being attacked, made several fires ; but the highlanders, after discharging their muskets, attacked them sword in hand. On which the French, having five or

six men killed, and as many more wounded, and seeing Capt. George Mackay coming up with a reinforcement, immediately surrendered. They were carried prisoners to Tongue, and put on board the Sheernefs. There was about 13,000 l. Sterling on board the Hazard, all English gold, except about 1000 French guineas, in five chests. The money was landed, and seized by the party. There were also found on board fourteen chests of pistols and sabres, with thirteen barrels of gunpowder, designed for the use of the rebels. The Sheernefs had fired, in the engagement, 8 or 900 shot, besides double shot and cartridge; the Hazard had her maintopmast, bowsprit, and foreyard shot away, most of her low rigging cut to pieces, and upwards of 80 shot-holes in her larboard-side. She had 38 sailors and 15 soldiers killed, and 10 wounded, four of which died afterwards. The Sheernefs had not a man killed, and only one wounded. All the persons who had belonged to the Hazard, and were put on board the Sheernefs, amounted in all, land and marine officers and soldiers and seamen, to 156. The officers and soldiers were mostly Irish, and a few Scots, commanded by Col. Brown, who had made his escape from Carlisle after the surrender of the town was agreed on, and had been afterwards engaged in the battle of Falkirk. Several of the officers were experienced engineers, either in the French or Spanish service. Among the private men were found two deserters, one from the Welch fusileers, and one from Bligh's. The Sheernefs, after performing this essential service, sailed to Stromness in Orkney, where one Capt. Sinclair, in a New-England ship of 14 guns, some swivels, 150 small arms, and above 10 barrels of gunpowder, had betrayed his ship to the rebels, and had laid an imbargo on twelve merchant-ships in Stromness harbour; and designed, with the assistance of the rebel-party then at Kirkwall, under the command of Lord Macleod, son of the Earl of Cromarty, to secure them for

for the use of the pretender. Capt. O'Brien relieved the merchant-ships, and seized Sinclair's, but he himself made his escape. A good many small arms, broad swords, ammunition, and several treasonable letters, were found on board. The Hazard sloop and Sinclair's ship were sent to Leith road, and the prisoners to Berwick. Lord Rea's loyal behaviour drew upon him the fury of the rebels; and being threatened with fire and sword by the Earl of Cromarty, his Lordship, with his family, went soon after to Edinburgh, as did Loudon's men to Aberdeen, both by sea. But let us now return to the Duke of Cumberland.

His R. Highness was visited at Aberdeen by the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the Laird of Grant, and several of the northern nobility and gentry, who made loyal offers of their service. The Duke applied himself diligently to refreshing and disciplining his troops, providing magazines for their subsistence, and preparing to march after the rebels, as soon as the season would permit. Towards the end of March, his R. Highness having received intelligence, that the Earl of Airly, father to Lord Ogilvy, was raising his men, to join the rebels, sent orders to him to desist from such treasonable practices. This not being complied with, the Duke ordered a detachment of 100 recovered men who were coming up to the army, to take possession of Airly's house, and to make him prisoner, until his people should bring in their arms. A good number complied, and Lord Airly went thereafter to Edinburgh. About the same time Maj. La-fanille, with 300 men, was ordered to go to Glenesk, one of the most rebellious parts, to attack all whom he found there in arms against the government, and to burn the habitations of such as had left them, and were with the rebels. This detachment arrived very seasonably; for the people at Breechin would otherwise have been swallowed up: for one Ferrier, an old smuggler, had, with a small party of rebels, taken up his

quarters at Glensnk; had sent down parties almost to the very gates of Brechin, and carried off men, horses, arms, &c. and had raised about 200 men in Glensnk and Glenprosen. The Major made a trip to Edzell, burnt the Jacobite meeting-house of Lethnet, and laid two or three of the richest Jacobites in that country under a small contribution; he next paid Lord Airly a visit, traversed Glenprosen and Clova, and burnt or destroyed all the meeting-houses where-ever he came. It cost some pains to save Glensnk, being a nest of Jacobites. These measures, to which severe threats were added, had the good effect of inducing most of the people to submit, and deliver up their arms; and the end plainly justified the means.

While the army lay at Aberdeen, some of the soldiers, in resentment of the hardships put upon them by the rebels, shewed a strong inclination to plunder the rebel-houses. Some detached parties having pillaged the house of James Gordon of Cowbardie, who was in the rebellion; his lady complained to the Duke; who ordered a strict inquiry to be made into the affair, and 100 guineas to be given the lady for her losses; declaring, that he had never given orders for taking any effects belonging to the rebels, except their cattle and forage, for that the rest was to be left to the law. It seems that one Lieut. Fawlie of Fleming's foot had been broke at Montrose, Feb. 24. for disobedience of orders, forfeiture of his word of honour, and prevarication before a court-martial held on him for having plundered the house of Mr Oliphant of Gask, a rebel. And on the 23d of March, Enf. Daniel Hart, of the late Sir Robert Monro's foot, was, by a sentence of a court-martial, cashiered, and rendered incapable of ever serving in any capacity under his Majesty, for extorting six guineas from the wife of Francis Ross merchant in Aberdeen, upon his promising to protect her house and shop. And two soldiers of Fleming's foot were hanged at Aberdeen, for plundering some houses

in that neighbourhood. These instances are sufficient to wipe off from the Duke those vile reproaches which the Jacobites, and their emissaries, did, and to this day do still maliciously throw upon his R. Highness; who, nevertheless, will be ever revered by every good Protestant for quelling a rebellious insurrection, which, if it had succeeded, would have been fatal to the whole Protestant interest in Europe.

Maj.-Gen. Bland marched from Aberdeen on the 12th of March to Inverury and Old Meldrum, one march towards the Spey, with the Royal Scots, Barrel's, Price's, and Cholmondeley's foot, Cobham's dragoons, and Kingston's horse, having the Campbells before him, with the Laird of Grant and 100 of his men. The Duke having received intelligence on the 16th, that Roy Stewart was at Strathbogie, with about 1000 foot and 60 hussars, sent orders to Gen. Bland, to attempt to surprize them, at least to attack them; and detached Brig. Mordaunt, with the Scots fusileers, Brag's, Monro's, and Battereau's regiments, and four pieces of cannon, next morning, by day-break, to Old Meldrum, in order to sustain Gen. Bland. Accordingly Gen. Bland marched on the 17th towards Strathbogie, and was almost within sight of the place when the rebels had the first notice of his approach. They immediately abandoned the town, and fled with the utmost precipitation towards Keith. They were pursued upwards of two miles. Roy Stewart was wounded in the arm by a shot from one of Kingston's horse.

These advantages however were counterbalanced by some little checks that parties of the royal army received. A captain of highlanders, whom Gen. Bland had detached with 70 highlanders and 30 of Kingston's horse to Keith, was surprized in the night of the 20th, and lost his whole party, except a cornet, five men, and two horses, of Kingston's, and one highlander, who made their escape. The rebels had marched from Fochabers in the night, surrounded Keith, and entered it

at

at both ends. The Campbells lay in the church, and defended the church-yard for above half an hour, and made the rebels pay dear for this advantage. Capt. Campbell, a serjeant, and five private men of the King's troops, were killed.

By the 26th, the King's army was divided in three cantonments; the whole first line, consisting of six battalions, Kingston's horse, and Cobham's dragoons, under the command of Lord Albemarle and Maj.-Gen. Bland, at Strathbogie, within twelve miles of the Spey; the reserve, consisting of three battalions, with four pieces of cannon, under Brig. Mordaunt, at Old Meldrum, half-way between Strathbogie and Aberdeen; and the whole second line, consisting of the six remaining battalions, (Bligh's being then arrived from Leith), and Mark Kerr's dragoons, at Aberdeen. About this time, the advanced parties of the rebels and of the corps at Strathbogie were within a mile of each other every night; their scouts and reconnoitring parties exchanged some shots; and, for fear of a surprise, the royal troops were kept under arms several nights successively, taking what sleep they could get in the day-time.

Towards the end of March the Duke was preparing to march from Aberdeen, having been long detained there by the inclemency of the season, and waiting for some detachments, and provisions and firing coming by sea. He fitted up Gordon's hospital for a fort, in which he purposed to leave a small garrison, under the command of Capt. Crosby of the Scots fusileers, for securing the town from any insults from Glenbucket's people or any others.

The Duke, having now got every thing in readiness for his marching, and being informed that the Spey was fordable, marched from Aberdeen, with the last division of the army, on the 8th of April, and incamped on the 11th at Cullen, where the troops received a considerable sum as a present from the Earl of Findlater and

Lord

Lord Biaco. Here Lord Albemarle joined his R. Highness, and the whole army was assembled. Next day they marched to the Spey, and passed it with no other loss than of one dragoon and four women, who were drowned. Maj.-Gen. Huske had been detached in the morning, with the fifteen companies of grenadiers, the highlanders, and all the cavalry, with two pieces of cannon; and the Duke went with them himself. On their first appearance the rebels, computed to be between 2 and 3000, under the command of Lord John Drummond, retired from the side of the Spey towards Elgin, upon which Kingstons horse immediately forded over, sustained by the grenadiers and highlanders. But the rebels were got out of their reach before they could pass. The infantry waded over as fast as they arrived; and though the water came up to their middles, they went on with great cheerfulness. The royal army incamped on the 12th on the west side of the Spey, marched through Elgin on the 13th, incamped about three miles to the west of it, in the parish of Alves, and on the 14th reached Nairn; where they halted the 15th, being the Duke's birthday, who then entered into the 26th year of his age, and employed themselves in putting their arms, &c. in good order, in the view of having a brush with the rebels.

The rebels were guilty of very great neglect in not disputing the passage of the Spey with the royal army; and why they did not do it, is not easy to be conceived. It appears, from this instance, that they were under a total infatuation. For though all the forces they had posted on the river could not have stopped the Duke's passage, yet they might have killed him a good many men, and exceedingly weakened his force. But certainly there was a special interposition of providence in this affair; and the antient adage, *Quot Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*, may not unsily be applied on this occasion. However, as the Duke of Cumberland's march had surpris'd the rebels, and much imbarressed their

their counsels, upon hearing of his arrival at Nairn, they were much perplexed about what course they should steer, after having missed the golden opportunity of attacking him in fording the Spey. All their army was not then joined. Keppoch, the Master of Lovat, Cluny Macpherson, and many of the recruits of Glengary's and other regiments, were not come up. There was a party at Cromarty; and a strong detachment, consisting of 1600 men, in Sutherland, and Lord Rea's country, under the command of Lord Cromarty, Glengyle, Glencarnock, and Barisdale. But all the parties were expected in a few days. Their number, however, in the neighbourhood of Inverness, amounted to 6000 at least, all brave and resolute men. It was at first proposed to retreat to the mountains till their whole body should assemble, and make a summer-campaign of it. This was the opinion of all the highland clans, who were not for precipitating any thing. But this opinion was taxed as timid, and rejected as such: though, perhaps, it was the best measure they could have taken. It would certainly have protracted the war, and led the royal army a dance after them into their fastnesses, where the rebels would have vast advantages over them, and might expect succours from France, sufficient to enable them to make an offensive war. Others were for retreating only for a few days, till their scattered parties should assemble, and then give the Duke of Cumberland battle in an advantageous situation. But this opinion could not be carried into execution, as they laboured under a total want of provisions, and had no money to purchase them: so that they were reduced to the sad dilemma, either to fight, starve, or disperse. The last expedient proposed for extricating themselves from their difficulties, was, to surprise the royal army in their camp at Nairn in the night of the 15th. All the clans, with their pretended prince, were keen for this night-attack, and seemed to be positive of success. It was at last agreed to; and accordingly, about eight

at night, the rebel-army, consisting of about 5000 men, marched from Culloden moor, where they had drawn up in order of battle in the forenoon, in expectation of the Duke's advancing from Nairn. Lord G. Murray was in the van, Lord J. Drummond in the centre, and the Duke of Perth, with the prince-pretender and Fitz-james's horse, in the rear. The van marched very quick, but the rear very slow. The former had got to Culraick, within four miles of Nairn, by one o'clock in the morning; but the latter was a good way behind. Here a halt was made to give time to the rear to come up. When they had both come to that place, it was near two o'clock, and they could plainly see the fires in the Duke of Cumberland's camp. Fearing they were discovered, that the King's army was alarmed, and that the sun would be up before they could reach Nairn, and form themselves, it was agreed to lay aside the attempt, and return immediately to Culloden. Accordingly, they set out on their return, and came to Culloden a little before eight o'clock in the morning of Wednesday the 16th, not a little fatigued and hungry, having travelled that night at least fifteen miles, and having but little provision to refresh them. Their loss of the Hazard sloop was now sensibly felt.

What chiefly induced the rebels to this attempt, was, the apprehension that the King's troops would all be drunk and asleep; that they would all be in such confusion, that they could not withstand the rude shock of the highlanders, and would therefore become an easy prey. But they were mistaken: the Duke was very well apprised of the design, and was prepared to give them a proper reception. For as soon as the rebels reached Culraick, the drums beat, and the army was ordered to march to attack them on the road. These preparations intimidated Charles to advance; and therefore he thought proper to return the way he came. It was no doubt wisely resolved by the rebels to attack the royal army by night; and had they got

up undiscovered before it was light, they might have made some impression, and cut off part of them. But it is thought they could not have totally routed the King's army; for they lay all night on their arms, and their cannon were planted. Providence here again baffled the crafty designs of the enemy; and this attempt only tended to weaken them, and render them less fit for action next day.

The hour was now approaching which was to determine all the towering expectations of the rebels, and repress their insolence: now the fatal time drew nigh, when their pretended prince, who had for several months traversed the country, and caused his terror every where, must yield to the gallant troops of him whom he had been taught to consider as the usurper of his and his father's rights; have his army routed, broke, and scattered, and he himself be a fugitive, without men, money, or attendants, to the grief and vexation of every Jacobite in the kingdom. The highland savages principally depended on their personal strength and wild bravery, and their dexterity in managing the broad sword: but the royal forces, headed by a Prince of the blood, were now ready to encounter them, notwithstanding all their boasted skill and courage. What will not intrepid courage, under proper management, and a good cause, under the benediction of the God of armies, achieve?

The royal army decamped from Nairn, April 16. at five o'clock in the morning, marching in three columns, of five battalions each. The artillery and baggage followed the first column upon the right, and the cavalry made a fourth column on the left. After they had marched about eight miles, their advanced guard, composed of about 40 of Kingston's horse, and the highlanders, led by the Quartermaster-General Bland, perceived the rebels at some distance making a motion towards them on the left; upon which the royal army immediately formed: but finding the rebels did not advance,

advance, they proceeded half a mile forwards with fixed bayonets; and, after passing a morass, came in full view of the rebels, who were drawn up in line of battle, behind some huts and old walls, in a line with Cul-loden house.

The royal army immediately began to form. The front-line consisted of six battalions, those of St Clair (Royal Scots), Cholmondeley, Price, Scots fusileers, Monro, and Barrel, commanded by the Earl of Albemarle; who had two pieces of cannon placed in all the intermediate spaces between each of the battalions; and the flanks were secured by the two regiments of dragoons, Cobham's, under the Earl of Ancrum, eldest son of the Marquis of Lothian, on the right; and Mark Kerr's, under Generals Hawley and Bland, on the left. The second line was composed of five battalions, those of Fleming, Wolfe, Ligonier, Sempill, and Bligh, under Maj.-Gen. Huske; so disposed as to front the openings of the first line. The reserve consisted of the remaining four battalions, those of Howard, Pukenev, Battereau, and Blake-ney, led by Brig Mordaunt; having Kingston's horse, equally disposed, on either flank. The Argyleshire highlanders were posted to guard the baggage. This was one of the most prudent dispositions that could be devised; because, if one column failed, a second supported; and if that failed, a third was ready: nor could the rebels break one regiment, without meeting with another. On the other hand, the front of the rebel-army was formed by the clans, in thirteen divisions, under their respective chiefs; the disposition being made by Mr Sullivan. Upon the right of all were about 40 of the principal gentlemen, who dismounted, because of the difference between their horses and the dragoons; the Athol men were next on the right, then the Camerons, the Stewarts of Appin, Macpherfons, Frasers, the Macintoshes, the Farquharfons, the Mac-annons, the Macleods of Raza, the Macleans, Mac-

donalds of Clanronald, of Keppoch, and of Glengary, having four pieces of cannon placed before the Farquharsons and Macinnons in the centre, and four at each wing. The centre was commanded by Lord J. Drummond, the right wing by Lord G. Murray, and the left by the Duke of Perth. On the right of the second line were posted two battalions of the regiment under Lord Lewis Gordon; next to them were two battalions, commanded by Lord Ogilvie; which were adjoined to the regiment of Lord J. Drummond, headed by his cousin Lord Lewis Drummond, son of the Earl of Melfort; and the remainder on the left, commanded by Lord Kilmarnock and Col. Crichton, alias Visc. Frendraught. The three last divisions properly formed the second column, because the first division was posted in Culloden park, to prevent the King's army from breaking down the wall, and flanking the rebels. Behind the second line were posted all the rebel-horse, including the body-guards, Pittligo's horse, and a squadron under Visc. Strathallan. The whole force of the rebels consisted of about 8000 men, and that of the Duke of much the same number; though Lord G. Murray, in his account of the battle, is positive that the former did not exceed 5000 fighting men. This was the actual situation of both armies on the day of battle.

Immediately before the battle, the Duke made the following speech to the army. "*Gentlemen and fellow-soldiers*, I have but little time to address myself to you; but I think proper to acquaint you, that you are instantly to engage in defence of your King and country, your religion, your liberties and properties; and through the justice of our cause, I make no doubt of leading you on to certain victory. Stand but firm, and your enemies will soon fly before you. But if there be any amongst you, who, through timidity, are diffident of their courage and behaviour, which I have not the least reason to suspect; or any others, who, through conscience

conscience or inclination, cannot be zealous or alert in performing their duty; it is my desire that all such would immediately retire: and I further declare, they shall have my free pardon for so doing; for I would much rather be at the head of one thousand brave and resolute men, than ten thousand, amongst whom there are some, who, by cowardice or misbehaviour, may dispirit or disorder the troops, and so bring dishonour or disgrace on an army under my command."—This noble speech was answered with a general huzza, every man, from the meanest soldier to the general officers, expressing the greatest resolution to encounter any danger under his R. Highness's conduct.

When the royal army had advanced within 500 yards of the rebels, the Duke found the morals on his right was ended, which left the right flank quite uncovered to them. Lt-Gen. Hawley and Maj.-Gen. Bland had before taken Cobham's dragoons from the right to Kerr's on the left, on a presumption that the right wing was entirely secure, and with an intention to fall upon the right flank of the rebels. This occasioned his R. Highness immediately to order Kingston's horse from the reserve, and a squadron of Cobham's which had been patrolling, to cover his flank; and Pulteney's regiment was ordered from the reserve to the right of the Royal Scots. It was now almost one o'clock; and about half an hour after that was spent in trying which of the two armies should gain the flank of the other. The Duke having then sent Lord Bury forward, within 100 yards of the rebels, to reconnoitre somewhat that appeared like a battery, the rebels thereupon immediately began firing their cannon; which were extremely ill served and ill pointed. The firing was instantly returned by the royal army; and the grape-shot made such terrible havock amongst the rebels, that open lanes appeared through most of their ranks. This put the rebels in the utmost confusion; they trembled at every discharge of the artillery; had no heart to that way

way of fighting ; and therefore made a push on the right of the King's army, where the Duke had placed himself to receive them. The left wing of the rebels came running down in their wild and desperate manner, three several times, within 100 yards of the Duke's right wing, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords : but the Royals and Pulteney's hardly took their muskets from their shoulders ; so that, after these faint attempts to draw the royal army forward, the rebels made off, and bent their whole force on the left of the royal army, where their right somewhat outflanked Barrel's regiment, and where they discharged all their fury. This was perceived by Maj.-Gen. Huske, who immediately ordered the regiments of Bligh and Sempill to advance from the second line, and fire upon those who had outflanked Barrel's, which soon repulsed them ; while the regiments of Barrel and Monro were briskly engaged with their bayonets in the front, where they did incredible slaughter. The rebels so obstinately rushed on their deaths, that there was scarce an officer or soldier in Barrel's regiment, or in that part of Monro's which engaged, who did not kill one or two men each with their bayonets and spontoons, which were most of them bent with the violence of the thrusts. In the mean time the royal cannon kept a continual fire with cartridge-shot, and strewed the ground with carcases. But though the rebels were intimidated at this scene of destruction, their commanders forced them down ; and they run with such impetuosity, that the regiments of Barrel and Monro were obliged to make an opening to let them pass ; and then, closing their ranks, some battalions of the rebels were miserably put to death, between the front and second lines of the royal army. To complete the total destruction of the rebels, Lt-Gen. Hawley with the dragoons, and a party of the Argyleshiremen, advanced about on the left, and broke down the park-wall which flanked the rebels left wing, where they defeated a re-
bel.

bel-detachment under Lord Lewis Gordon. The dragoons then came down on the rear of the centre-column of the rebels second line, where they made a prodigious slaughter: and, about the same time, Kingston's horse wheeled off from the right, pierced through the left wing of the rebels front-line; and penetrated to the centre-column of their second line, where they attacked that column in front, while the dragoons were attacking the rear. This occasioned a dreadful carnage. The royal cavalry soon dispersed the rebel-reserve; the clans were entirely surrounded; the royal infantry was close on their front, while the cavalry advanced on their rear; and, thus hemmed in, they perished in heaps, unassisted by the French, who scarce fired a shot. It was now two o'clock. The rebels had maintained the engagement for 35 minutes; had fought desperately; but were now obliged to fly in a general confusion, striving every one who should be foremost in the flight. Precipitate was the flight, close the pursuit, and terrible the slaughter: for Lord Antrim was ordered to pursue with the cavalry as far as he could; who did it so effectually, that not only the field of battle, but the road to Inverness, for four miles, was covered with mangled or dead bodies; and the slaughter was so undistinguished, that many of the poor inhabitants of Inverness, who had come out of curiosity to see the battle, being clad in the highland dress, and therefore impossible to be distinguished, were indiscriminately put to the sword among the fugitive rebels.

This is the substance of the accounts published on the King's side. To which it will not be improper to subjoin that given by Lord G. Murray, which fully confirms it.

"Both armies being fully formed (says he), the cannonading began on both sides.—The highlanders were much galled by the enemy's cannon, and were growing so impatient, that they were like to break through their ranks. Upon which it was judged proper to attack,
and

and orders were given accordingly. The left wing did not go in sword in hand, imagining they should be flanked by a regiment of foot, and some horse, which the enemy brought up about that time from their second line or corps de reserve. When the right wing were within pistol-shot of the enemy, they received a most terrible fire, not only in front, but also in flank, from a side-battery; notwithstanding which, they went in sword in hand, after giving their fire close to the enemy; and though they were received by them with their pikes and bayonets, the two regiments of foot that were on the enemy's left, would have been entirely cut to pieces, had they not been immediately supported by two other regiments from their second line. As it was, these two regiments (Barrel's and Monro's) had above 200 men killed and wounded. Two regiments of dragoons coming up on the same side, entirely broke that wing of the highlanders; and though three battalions of the right of the second line were brought up, and gave their fire very well; yet the ground and every thing else was so favourable to the enemy, that nothing could be done, but a total rout ensued."

Such was the fate of this memorable battle, which extinguished a wicked and unnatural rebellion, headed by the son of a Popish pretender, and delivered the kingdom from many grievous calamities it had for some months laboured under, and freed the loyal inhabitants from their fears of an inundation of Popery and arbitrary power, worse and more pernicious than Egyptian bondage. The rebels had upwards of 2000 men killed on the field of battle and in the pursuit, and 326 men were taken prisoners; besides 222 French, who had exerted themselves in covering the retreat, and surrendered themselves prisoners, at Inverness, to Gen. Bland*. Of the

* That a greater number of the rebels was not taken, was owing to the swiftness of their flight, who in this case thought a

the rebel-officers were killed Lord Strathallan, Robert Mercer of Aldie, Lachlan Maclachlan of that ilk, Alexander Macgillivray of Dunmaglask, Colonels Fraser, Mackenzie, and Macintosh, Maj. Macbain, and many others. The Earl of Kilmarnock, Col. Farquharson, Sir John Wedderburn, Col. Ker, Maj. Stewart, Maj. Maclachlan, and many other officers, were taken. There were also taken some rebel-ladies, such as Lady Ogilvie, Lady Kinloch, Lady Gordon, the Laird of Macintosh's wife, Shirloch's Lady, and one Mrs Williams. Some of these had followed their husbands, out of conjugal affection ; but others, as Lady Macintosh, whose husband was zealous for the government, forgetting the modesty and softness of their sex, had taken up arms, and headed troops for the young pretender, who was the idol of the Jacobite ladies. Lord Fortrose's wife was also one of those Amazon heroines ; and Sec. Murray's wife followed the rebel-army in a military habit ; as did some others. But Lady Kilmarnock, who had been nursed up in all the bigotry and madness of Jacobitism, was so far from encouraging her Lord to join in the frantic attempt, that she earnestly dissuaded him from it ; though her family's interest must have been promoted by the success of the rebellion. Among the French who surrendered at Inverness, were Brig. Stapleton, Lord Lewis Drummond, Col. Macdonell, the Marquis de Guilles (commonly styled the French ambassador), and forty-seven other officers. There were taken 22 pieces of cannon, 2320 firelocks, 190 broad swords, 1500 musket-cartridges, 1019 shot for ordnance, 500 lb. musket shot, 37 barrels of powder, 22 ammunition-carts, besides tents, cantines, pouches and cartouch-boxes,

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pistols,

pair of heels worth two pair of hands ; to the weariness of the royal forces, and their unacquaintance with the different roads of escape ; but not to a general carnage, or refusal of quarter to such as asked it, as the Jacobites falsely gave out. This indeed would have been the case had the rebels proved victorious, as can easily be made appear,

pistols, and saddles. Sixteen colours and standards were also taken, all which were afterwards burnt, at Edinburgh, by the hands of the common hangman. The royal army had 50 men killed, 259 wounded, and 1 missing; in all 310. Among the former was Capt. Lord Robert Kerr, son to the Marquis of Lothian, and among the latter, Lt-Col. Rich, both of Bafrel's regiment; but no other person of distinction was either among the dead or wounded. Lord Robert Kerr, not observing when his regiment gave way, had remained a few yards forwards alone. He had struck his pike into the body of a highland officer; but before he could disengage himself, was surrounded, and cut to pieces.

The rebels had flattered themselves with the certain hope of defeating the King's army, and had resolved to cut off every man of them that should fall into their hands. As an evidence of this, there was found in one of the pockets of the rebel-prisoners, an order, dated April 15. and signed, *By his Royal Highness's command, George Murray Lt-Gen.* directing "every person to attach himself to some corps of the army, and remain with that corps night and day, until the battle and pursuit should be finally over; and to give no quarter to the Elector [of Hanover's] troops on any account whatever." This barbarous order was universally disowned by the rebel-prisoners, who alledged they knew nothing about it. Among others, Lord Kilmarnock protested he never knew or heard of any such thing, till he was some days a prisoner at Inverness; and that he could not give credit to the report of it, till he was assured the Duke had got the original order, signed, *George Murray*. No notice was taken of it in any of the accounts published by the government: which made many disbelieve it. But though it might be true, that Lord Kilmarnock and other rebel-chiefs never saw it, yet I am assured such an order was found, signed as above; which had the effect to exasperate the King's troops, and induced them to deal pretty roughly with several
rebels

rebels who afterwards fell into their hands : for they justly conceived it to be one of the most cruel orders that had ever been issued in any civilized country, and a sad presage of what the loyal subjects of G. Britain would have been exposed to, had the rebellion succeeded.

The day before this famous battle, the Earl of Sutherland's people performed a very interesting piece of service to their king and country, which ought not to be forgot. I have already taken notice of the Earl of Cromarty's having penetrated into Sutherland at the head of a very strong party. There his Lordship ravaged and harassed that poor country ; while the Sutherlands and Mackays endeavoured to oppose his proceedings. Three companies of the Sutherland militia had kept in a body, notwithstanding Cromarty's efforts to disperse or seize them. Their captains, Mr Sutherland younger of Sibberscross, and Mess. Gray and Macalister, the Earl's factors, had determined to dislodge the rebels from Dunrobin, the Earl's seat, and to attack them at any rate. For this purpose they marched to the back of a hill north-west of Dunrobin, and finding that the rebels, amounting to 500 men, were on their march from Dunrobin, they sent Enf. Mackay with 26 men to harass their rear, in their way to the ferry of Golspie. Mean time Cromarty having left Dunrobin, was following after his men ; but was fired at so briskly by a party posted in Golspie churchyard, that he was obliged to retreat back to Dunrobin. On notice of his Lordship's distress, his men marched back to his relief ; so that the 26 men of the Sutherland militia, unable to cope with such a body, were obliged to retire. By this time the three companies above mentioned began to march down the hill ; and the rebels thinking they were far more numerous than they really were, fell to retreat in a panic towards the ferry. The militia immediately pursued, came in upon their left flank, and soon routed them. A considerable

number was killed and drowned, and 178 private men were taken prisoners. Cromarty held out Dunrobin house till the evening; when despairing of relief, and fearing to have the house burnt about his ears, he and all his officers surrendered themselves prisoners of war. They were next day and the following put on board the Hawk and Hound sloops of war then lying off Cromarty; from whence they were conveyed to Inverness, where they arrived on the 18th. On this occasion were taken the Earl of Cromarty, Lord Macleod his eldest son, Lt-Col. Kendall, in the Spanish service, and nine other officers, together with about 1200 l. Ster. In this whole affair the militia had not a man killed, and not above six wounded.—I wish I could have informed the world, that the loyal Earl of Sutherland had met with a suitable reward for this signal service done his country: but though his Lordship's family declared early in favour of the revolution, and did great service to the government against the rebellion in 1715; and though he himself acted with distinguishing zeal against the present rebellion, and his people, by the aforementioned memorable exploit, contributed not a little to the glorious victory at Culloden; yet he was the very next year deprived of his seat in the house of Lords, and turned out of a very lucrative post in the government, that of President of the court of Police in Scotland, worth 2000 l. a-year, in order to give place to a nobleman, who, though of known zeal and attachment to the government, had in this time of danger done nothing.

The news of the defeat of the rebels having reached Edinburgh late on Saturday night April 19. it was notified to the inhabitants, next morning at two o'clock, by a round of the great guns from the castle, which was answered by his Majesty's ships of war in Leith road. And the joyful news reached London on the 23d. Lord Bury was dispatched from Inverness the night of the battle, at seven o'clock, with an account of it to the King. He came by sea to Northberwick, where

where he landed on the 21st, and then set out post for London, where he arrived in the morning of the 24th. That day there were very extraordinary public rejoicings, both at London and Edinburgh, on account of this important victory; which soon became general all over the kingdom, to the confusion of the slaves to passive obedience and non-resistance. This year the Duke's birthday was solemnized after a most distinguished manner throughout the whole kingdom; an anniversary which had not before been publicly observed.

His R. Highness arrived at Inverness in the evening of the battle, where he was received with the greatest joy as their deliverer from the heavy yoke of the rebels. Here he fixed his head quarters for some time, and sent out parties every where in pursuit of the fugitive rebels; who met with great success. Many were apprehended and imprisoned; and others, who were so obstinate as not to yield, were killed without ceremony, their habitations destroyed, and their estates and goods plundered. But most of the principal officers who had escaped the sword, found means to get to France. The Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, Lord Elcho, Sir Thomas Sheridan, John Hay of Restalrig, Mr Buchanan, &c. made their escape May 4. on board two French men of war from Arisaig. The Duke of Perth was in a bad state of health when he embarked, and died on the 11th, before he reached France. Lord John his brother, who assumed the pretended title, died at the siege of Bergen-op-zoom in 1747. Others escaped to Norway, and from thence to France, such as Lord Ogilvie, the titular Viscount of Dundee, Fletcher of Benshie, Hunter of Burnside, &c.

The prince-pretender had escaped from the battle, with a few chosen friends, such as Sheridan, Sir David Murray, Mr Alexander Macleod, Mr John Hay, Mess. O Sullivan and O Neille, &c. and got to Gortuleg the evening of the battle. Here he had an interview with Lord Lovat, who was there sculking. His Lordship,
who

who had often said he was the life and spirit of the pretender's interest in the highlands, warmly exhorted the young Chevalier not to despond, but think of retrieving his affairs, promising him all the assistance in his power. But Sullivan dissuaded the adventurer to listen to any such idle advices, well knowing that his affairs were then quite desperate. He did not lodge at Gortuleg all night, but set out in his flight. He then wandered about as an exile, exposed to all the inconveniencies of cold, hunger, thirst, and weariness; was obliged often to change his dress, and assume various habits; was frequently in danger of being apprehended, and sometimes very narrowly escaped. Sometimes he had attendants, and sometimes none. Some females were particularly kind to him, and greatly helped him to facilitate his escape. At length, after a peregrination of full five months, he, with Lochiel, Dr Archibald Cameron, Lochiel's brother, John Roy Stewart, &c. got on board the *Bellona*, a privateer of Nantes, of 36 carriage-guns, 12 swivels, and 340 men, at Moidart. Setting sail from thence September 20. he landed on the 29th at Roscou, about three miles west of Morlaix, having narrowly escaped a British Squadron then on the coast of Britany. "He was, when he embarked, (says a late historian), clad in a short coat of black frieze, threadbare, over which was a common highland plaid, girt round him by a belt, from whence depended a pistol and a dagger. He had not been shifted for many weeks: his shoes and stockings hung in tatters on his feet and legs. His eyes were hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue." But whatever hardships he had undergone, he might have had terrible qualms of conscience, for having been the wicked cause of so much bloodshed, rapine, and desolation. Many innocent people were, by means of his cursed ambition, involved in the most horrid calamities, many useful lives were sacrificed in his quarrel, trade and manufactures

manufactures suffered a total stagnation, and his insatuated followers were ruined, and banished their country. So that it may well be said, that as his supposed predecessors had been a plague to the British nation, so was this adventurous youth, and especially to the Papists and Jacobites, those inveterate enemies to the religion and liberties of their native country*.

The rebellion being happily extinguished, the loyal inhabitants of Scotland were freed from those calamities and terrors which had hung over them for near nine months, and they very deservedly bestowed the highest encomiums on the Duke of Cumberland, whose courage and conduct, under the influence of Providence, had effected their deliverance. Every city and borough strove who should most celebrate the magnanimous hero. Congratulatory addresses were presented to his Majesty, by both houses of parliament, and from all parts of G. Britain and Ireland, on this happy occasion. The Lords and Commons ordered their public thanks to be transmitted, by their respective speakers, to the Duke, for the great and eminent services performed by him; and, with the approbation of his Majesty, they settled an additional revenue of 25,000 l. a-year on his R. Highness, and the heirs-male of his body, chargeable on the aggregate fund, as an augmentation of his former revenue of 15,000 l. payable out of the civil list

I had almost forgot to mention, that a subscription was opened at Guildhall, London, Nov. 27. 1745, by the Lord Mayor and others, for relief of the soldiers employed during the winter-season towards suppressing the

* I intended to have given a more particular account of the proceedings of the troops in their pursuit of the remains of the rebels, and of the young pretender's sculkings and escape, with every thing else necessary for illustrating the history of that time: but as the volume has already swelled to so great a size, I am obliged to postpone the design.

the rebellion. The committee of managers, out of this fund, provided 12,000 pairs of breeches, 12,000 shirts, 10,000 woollen caps, 10,000 pairs of woollen stockings, 10,000 blankets, 12,000 pairs of knit woollen gloves, and 9000 pairs woollen spatterdashes, for the use of the army. By the 5th of February 1746, the subscription amounted to 18,435 l. of which 5000 l. was given to the soldiers employed in the battle of Culloden, 1000 l. to the non-commission officers, and 1 l. each to 150 soldiers who had been wounded at the battle of Preston. The remainder was given to certain hospitals in London.—The Edinburgh regiment, after having been stationed on the south of the Forth for seizing straggling rebels after the battle of Culloden, was disbanded on the 30th of May 1746; as were soon after most of the regiments raised in England by noblemen and gentlemen.

The Duke, with the main body of his army, marched from Inverness, May 23. and next day arrived at Fort Augustus. Here he continued some time; from whence he sent out several detachments to scour the country. In a short time the whole highlands were subdued and the inhabitants disarmed: A work that had in vain been attempted by the Romans and Saxons; but these fierce and untractable people, who had often bid defiance to their native kings, were now at last reduced, so as hardly ever to be in a capacity to raise a new rebellion. The Hessian troops embarked at Burntisland, and sailed from Leith road June 10. and arrived at Williamstadt on the 18th. They were under the command of the Earl of Crawford; as Pr. Frederick had gone to London. The Duke, leaving the command of the army to Lt-Gen. William Earl of Albemarle, set out from Fort Augustus July 10. and arrived at London on the 25th. The most sincere testimonies of esteem and gratitude were every where shewn his R. Highness; though, at his own desire, public rejoicings were often forbid.

A solemn thanksgiving for the victory at Culloden was observed throughout Scotland on the 26th of June; and in England on the 9th of October. In England, the day was solemnized, not only by people's attending divine worship, but also by ringing of bells, music, bonfires, illuminations, firing of guns, entertainments, &c.; and, in several places, the devil, the Pope, and the pretender, were burnt in effigie.—They must be grossly ignorant, or immersed in superstition, who can imagine the Deity can be pleased with such fooleries, as parts of divine worship.

It was now necessary, that those who had violated their fidelity and allegiance to their injured sovereign, and involved their country in such calamity and confusion, should atone for their crimes by satisfying the demands of public justice. An act of attainder was passed June 4. against the principal persons concerned in the rebellion; whereby the several persons therein named were to stand attainted of high treason, unless they surrendered themselves on or before the 12th of July following; and courts were opened in several parts of England for the trial of the rebels that were in custody. Of the rebels tried at St Margaret's hill, Southwark, seventeen were executed at Kennington common, *viz.* on the 30th of July, Francis Townly, George Fletcher, Thomas Chadwick, James Dawson, Thomas Deacon, John Berwick, Andrew Blood, Thomas Syddal, and David Morgan, English;—on the 22d of August, James Nicolson, Donald Macdonald, and Walter Ogilvie, Scots; who were all taken at Carlisle;—and on the 28th of November, Sir John Wedderburn, John Hamilton, governor of Carlisle, Alexander Leith, Alexander Wood, and James Bradshaw.—Of the rebels tried at Carlisle, thirty-three were executed, *viz.* at Harrowby gallows near that city, October 18. Mr Thomas Coppock, the pretended bishop of that city, Edward Roper, Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, Maj. Donald Macdo-

nald of Tyendrith, John Henderson, John Macnaughton, James Brand, and Hugh Cameron;—and Nov. 15. Sir Archibald Primerose of Dunipace, Charles Gordon of Dalperfy, Patrick Murray goldsmith in Stirling, Patrick Keir and Alexander Stevenson wrights in Edinburgh, Robert Reid, John Wallace, and James Mitchell, all Scots; Molineux Eaton and Thomas Hayes, English; and Barnaby Matthews, Irish:—At Brampton, Oct. 21. James Innes, Patrick Lindsay, Ronald Macdonald, Thomas Park, Peter Taylor, and Michael DeJard:—And at Penrith, Oct. 28. Mr Robert Lyon (formerly a nonjurant Episcopal minister at Perth), David Home, Andrew Swan, James Harvey, John Robottom, Philip Hunt, and Valentine Holt.—Of those tried at York, twenty-two were executed near that city, *viz.* Nov. 1. Capt. George Hamilton of Redhouse, Daniel Frazer, Edward Clavering, Charles Gordon, Benjamin Mason, James Maine, William Connolly, William Dempsey, Angus Macdonald, and James Sparkes:—on the 8th, David Rowe, William Hunter, John Endsworth, John Maclean, John Macgregor, Simon Mackenzie, Alexander Parker, Thomas Macgenis, Archibald Kennedy, James Thomson, and Michael Brady:—and on the 15th, James Reid.

William Marquis of Tullibardine, William Earl of Kilmarnock, George Earl of Cromarty, Arthur Lord Balmerino, and Simon Lord Lovat, were all carried to London, and confined in the Tower. Charles Ratcliffe, taking upon him the title of Earl of Derwentwater, had been taken on board a French transport, as mentioned above, and was confined there long before the suppression of the rebellion. The Marquis of Tullibardine died in the Tower on the 9th of July, in the 58th year of his age, advising his countrymen never more to enter into rebellious measures. But the grand jury for the county of Surrey found bills of indictment against the Earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock, and Lord Balmerino, for high treason, in levy-

ing war against his Majesty. Their trials were appointed to be in Westminster-hall on the 28th of July. Philip Lord Hardwicke, then Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, was appointed Lord High Steward for that purpose. On the day appointed they were severally brought to the bar, and allowed counsel. The two Earls pleaded Guilty, and in very pathetic speeches recommended themselves to his Majesty's mercy. But Lord Balmerino pleaded Not guilty, denying that he had been at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment. Witnesses were then examined, by whom it was proved, that his Lordship entered Carlisle, tho' not on the day specified in the indictment, at the head of a regiment of horse, with his sword drawn. He also made an exception; but it was over-ruled. He was unanimously found guilty; as the judges being asked with regard to the overt act, had declared, that it was not material, as other facts were proved beyond contradiction. The three peers were again brought to the bar on the 30th; when the two Earls recommended themselves to the royal clemency; but Balmerino moved an exception in arrest of judgment; pleading, that an indictment could not be found in the county of Surrey, for a crime laid to be committed at Carlisle, in December preceding; in regard the act of parliament ordaining the rebels to be tried in such counties as the King should appoint, which was not passed till March, could not have a retrospect. But being satisfied, by counsel, of the fatality of this plea, he submitted to the court. The Lord High Steward then pronounced sentence of death on the criminals.

Lord Cromarty had been collector of the bishops rents in Scotland, which he had been allowed to apply to his own use, without being called to account; and therefore his crime must appear a shocking instance of ingratitude. Great application was, however, made in his behalf. The case of his numerous family, and that of his wife, descended of a loyal family, were

strong motives in his favour. His life was therefore spared, and he lives to this day a standing monument of undeserved clemency. Lord Kilmarnock was a nobleman of fine parts, of a graceful appearance, and a most engaging address; had been educated in revolution-principles, and, in the commencement of the rebellion, had spirited up his vassals to oppose it: but having for some years enjoyed a pension from the crown, which had been withdrawn a little before Charles's arrival in Scotland, he was exasperated at the supposed affront, and partly in resentment for that, and partly with a view of obtaining the opulent estate of Linlithgow and Callender, the original property of his wife, as heir to her attainted father, the Earl of Linlithgow and Callender, he joined in the wicked attempt. Arthur Lord Balmerino had been a hardened rebel: and though he had been pardoned for his accession to the rebellion in 1715, by his present Majesty; yet gratitude to his gracious benefactor could not restrain him from joining with the enemies of his crown and kingdoms. He had succeeded to the title only in January preceding, upon the death of his elder brother without issue, and had never possessed the estate.

Lord Kilmarnock presented very moving petitions to the King, the Prince, and the Duke; but in vain. It was his Lordship's misfortune, that he had incurred the displeasure of a certain great personage, for alleged cruelty to the prisoners taken before the battle of Culloden, for advising or approving of the barbarous order for giving no quarter to his Majesty's troops at that battle, and dissimulation as to the method of his having been taken. And it is said, that that great personage was implacable in his resentment; and therefore would listen to no overture of clemency. Pity, however, it was, that this Noble Lord did not partake of the royal mercy, when he was a sincere penitent, and would have dedicated the remainder of his life to the

the service of his Majesty and the royal family. Lord Balmerino never petitioned for life; but resolved to die, as he had lived, an obdured Jacobite, elated with the presumptuous hope of eternal felicity as the reward of his crimes.

The two Lords were accordingly executed on Tower-hill Aug. 18. Kilmarnock was in the 42d year of his age. He behaved with such decency and composure as excited a general pity among the numerous croud of spectators. His whole deportment shewed him deeply sensible of the nature of his crime; he declared himself a Protestant, and thoroughly satisfied with the legality of K. George's title to the throne; and, almost with his dying breath, heartily prayed for the preservation of his Majesty and the whole royal family.—Lord Balmerino was in his 58th year, and discovered such resolution and intrepidity, as plainly shewed he acted on principle. He declared that his resolute behaviour was the effect of confidence in God, and a good conscience; and that he should dissemble if he shewed any signs of fear. “Balmerino (says a late historian) had been bred to arms, and acted upon principle: he was unpolished in his manners, brave, rough, and resolute, eyed the implements of death with the most careless familiarity, and seemed to triumph in his sufferings.” Balmerino's behaviour was called, by his Jacobite friends, heroism, and an evidence of the goodness of his principles, and of the cause he had been engaged in. But upon this it may be observed, That we can, in no case, from the mere boldness and intrepidity of the sufferer, infer the goodness of his principles. For we may even suppose a man, who has acted a part in all the barbarous and diabolical cruelties of the inquisition, to be supported in the hour of death, quite above fear, and even to a degree of exultation, by reflection on his ardent zeal, for the suppression of what he supposes to be heresy, and for the honour of God, though exerted in such instances

instances as the God of mercy must necessarily abhor. The presumptions of enthusiasm are always more forward and assuming, than the confidence inspired by rational religion. Nothing can be more repugnant to common reason, nor a grosser reflection on the wisdom and justice of the Supreme Being, than to suppose, that he intended the greatest part of his reasonable creatures for slaves, and has established the lineal hereditary indefeasible right of tyrants, to harass and oppress mankind. Even transubstantiation itself cannot be esteemed a doctrine more absurd or impious. And to found a title to the favour of God upon zeal or attachment to such an absurd and hellish doctrine, is a high affront to the God of heaven, and contrary to the whole doctrine of revealed religion. This indurated rebel must, however, pass for a hero, and be enrolled in the register of Jacobitish saints.

Very different indeed was the case of the unfortunate Lord Kilmarnock. His temper was susceptible of more tenderness; his crime was the effect of a sudden gust of temporary views, of which he was ashamed long before he was in danger; he trembled amidst the inconsiderable advantages gained by the rebels, and was all along under this dreadful and affecting conviction, that his own safety, and that of his country, were incompatible. These wounds in his conscience, and a very rational, perhaps salutary diffidence in his repentance, made death not only serious, but dreadful to him. The roughness of Balmerino's nature prevented his feeling, and his military course of life had reconciled him to the sight of death. There remained, therefore, nothing here that could fright him. As to hereafter, the errors of his education set him at ease. To him neither the thing nor the consequences were terrible: momentary pain seemed a small price to pay for eternal rest. Thus he made a leap into the dark, in full assurance that his absurd principles, and the wicked cause for which he suffered,

but

but which to him seemed agreeable to the will of God, would certainly intitle him to eternal happiness. But every reasonable man must condemn the impenitent obstinacy of the one, and commend the penitent behaviour of the other.

Charles Ratcliffe, Esq; brother to the Earl of Derwentwater, who was executed for being concerned in the former rebellion, was the next sacrifice to national justice. This gentleman had also been engaged in that rebellion, and was convicted, and received sentence of death; but made his escape out of Newgate, and got over to France, where he married the Countess-dowager of Newburgh, by whom he had several children. He had assumed the title of Earl of Derwentwater, and had been taken in the *Esperance*, in his passage to Scotland in November 1745. He was arraigned at the bar of the court of King's bench, Nov. 24. 1746, on his former sentence: and the identity of his person being proved to the satisfaction of the court, they made a rule for his execution, in pursuance of his former sentence. He was accordingly executed on Tower-hill, Dec. 8. He was in the 53d year of his age, declared himself a Roman-Catholic, and behaved with great composure and serenity of mind.

The next considerable personage who fell a victim to his offended King and country, was the famous Simon Frazer, Lord Lovat. He had been a rebel against K. William and Q. Anne; but on the accession of K. George I. to the British crown, he renounced his connections with the pretender, and having in view to possess himself of the estate of Lovat, he espoused K. George's cause, and did very essential service to the government. For which he obtained a pardon, got the estate, received a pension, and was made captain of one of the highland independent companies. But having been deprived of his company, and his pension being withdrawn, he proved a secret, and therefore more dangerous enemy to the government. He had acquired

quired a vast estate, and obtained a considerable interest in the highlands, where his power was feared, but his person disregarded. "He was (says a late historian) bold, enterprising, vain, arbitrary, rapacious, cruel, and deceitful: but his character was chiefly marked by a species of low cunning and dissimulation; which, however, overshot his purpose, and contributed to his own ruin." The house of Commons exhibited an impeachment against him, and appointed several managers to carry on the prosecution. He was brought to trial, in Westminster-hall, March 9. 1747, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke again acting as Lord High Steward. In the course of the trial he was proved to have maintained a long and treasonable correspondence with the pretender; to have obtained a commission, from the pretender, of general of the highlands, and a ducal patent, by the title of Duke of Fraser; to have countenanced and advised the principal persons in the rebellion, and compelled his son to join in it, with his elan. The trial lasted six days, and on the 7th day, March 19. he received sentence of death. He was executed on Tower-hill, April 9. He was in the 80th year of his age, professed himself to be a Roman-Catholic, and died with all the appearance of fortitude and unconcern. Mr Murray, the young pretender's secretary, was one of the principal evidences against him. "Notwithstanding (says the aforementioned historian) his age, infirmities, and the recollection of his conscience, which was supposed to be not altogether void of offence, he died like an old Roman, saying, *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*. He surveyed the croud with attention, examined the axe, jested with the executioner, and laid his head upon the block with the utmost indifference. From this last scene of his life one would have concluded, that he had approved himself a patriot from his youth, and never deviated from the paths of virtue."

It is somewhat remarkable, that one Mr Painter, of St John's college, Oxford, petitioned to suffer in Lovat's room. But the enthusiast's petition was rejected; and the old rebel satisfied the justice of his country, by having his head struck off for a multitude of crimes. He died with intrepid unconcern; but fell unlamented, with the character of an arch-rebel, a tyrannical master, husband, and father, and a bad Man.

The last that suffered was Dr Archibald Cameron, brother to Lochiel. He had accompanied the young pretender to Scotland in 1745, and escaped with him to France in September 1746. Returning to Scotland in the beginning of 1753, he was apprehended March 20. by a party from the garrison of Innesnaid, was sent to London, and imprisoned in the tower. He was carried to the court of King's-bench May 17. and arraigned upon the act of attainder, in which he is named. He admitted himself to be the identical person, and was sentenced to die. He was accordingly executed at Tyburn, on the 17th of June. He professed himself a member of the Episcopal church of Scotland, and behaved with great decency and composure of spirit; but justified what he had done.

These are all the persons that suffered for this rebellion. And the lenity of the government appeared in a distinguished manner on this occasion, in making so few sacrifices. There were 219 persons tried, of whom only 77 were executed, the rest were reprieved; some of whom obtained a pardon. Of the other rebels, several died in prison, and many were banished to the plantations. It is remarkable, that all who were executed, except Lord Kilmarnock, justified what they had done, said they died in a good cause, and declared that they would do the same again, if they had lived. Strange obstinacy! daring impudence! inveterate impiety!

On the 17th of June 1747 was passed an act for his Majesty's most gracious, general, and free pardon.

Eighty-four persons were excepted out of it. Bills of indictment for high treason were found against forty-two of them in the high court of justiciary at Edinburgh in October 1748; but there have been no further proceedings in the affair since that time.

Archibald Macdonell, son of Col Macdonell of Barisdale, who had been attainted by the act of the 20th of the King, was apprehended July 18. 1743. by a detachment from the garrison of Bernera, and committed prisoner to Edinburgh castle. He was arraigned before the justiciary at Edinburgh, upon the act of attainder, March 11. 1754. He admitted himself to be the identical person, and received sentence of death, March 30.; but got several successive reprieves, and was at last reprieved *sine die*.

Archibald Stewart, Esq; who had been Lord Provost of Edinburgh at the commencement of the rebellion, and had represented that city in parliament, was taken into custody, at London, Nov. 30. and imprisoned in the tower Dec. 13. 1745. He was admitted to bail Jan. 23. 1747. He was served with criminal letters, raised against him by William Grant of Prestongrange, Esq; his Majesty's Advocate, charging him with neglect of duty and misbehaviour in his office, as chief magistrate of Edinburgh, when the rebels got possession of it. He denied the charge. The libel was found relevant Aug. 6. The trial began Oct. 27. and ended on the 31st. The jury returned their verdict Nov. 2. finding, *nem. con.* the pannel Not guilty. Upon which he was dismissed from the bar. — If this gentleman really favoured the rebels, of which there were not wanting suspicions, it seems he managed affairs with so much art and address, that his disloyalty could not be made appear. If he was innocent of the charge exhibited against him, and did, or intended to act the part of a loyal and upright magistrate on that important occasion, his upright intentions would be a source of comfort to him amidst the trouble and expence he was afterwards

afterwards involved in ; and his past experience will surely make him shy of ever hereafter taking upon him any public office. It appears, however, from his trial, that whatever his political principles and views were, he certainly doubted and debated the legality of every measure that was proposed for the preservation of the city, was extremely averse to any proposals for defence, seemed to listen with greater attention to the counsels of Jacobite heritors than those of Whigs of the greatest character and substance, and might have at least preserved the city-arsenal and cannon planted upon the walls from falling into the hands of the rebels. And it is no injurious reflection to say, that if he had been less timid, and acted with greater vigour and zeal, Edinburgh had not fallen a prey to a rebellious mob at the time that it did. Instances are not wanting of greater exploits performed by the zeal and resolution of a single man, vested with an office of less dignity and importance than that of Lord Provost of the city of Edinburgh. A man who had under his direction many hundred men, determined to stand by him to the last extremity, might at least have made a trial of defending his city, against a handful of highland savages, who had neither artillery nor ammunition, especially as he had so near a prospect of relief. But many strange events happen in the world, and this may be reckoned one of them. Many oversights take place in managing affairs, and public honour is often sacrificed to pusillanimity, if not to lurking disloyalty.

Thus I have given a succinct account of the rise, progress, and extinction of the rebellion in Scotland in the years 1745 and 1746, with the trials and executions of the rebels, and other material circumstances relative to that important event. A few observations shall conclude the whole.

This rebellion was the second grand attempt made by the pretender to possess himself of the crown of

G. Britain and Ireland. In the first attempt he appeared in person, and after for a short time displaying the mock ensigns of pretended royalty, he, like a cowardly poltroon, in imitation of the example set him by his supposed father, fled on the march of the royal army under the command of the late Duke of Argyll to attack him, and made his escape by sea. In this last attempt he delegated his pretensions to his eldest son, a youth of a brave and enterprising spirit; who indeed has displayed greater abilities and courage than any of the race of Stuart had done for ages before.

But this adventurous youth met with no better success than his father, though supported both by France and Spain, who only made a tool of him to serve their own designs. It will hardly, however, be found recorded in history, that at any former period the Scotch highlanders ever carried their victorious arms from their native barren mountains to within a hundred miles of London, or that they were ever totally subdued in their own bleak hills. We have seen those two events take place; the former as an evidence of the extraordinary courage of our Scotch highlanders; and the latter as a proof of the wise conduct of a prince of the illustrious house of Hanover. The pretender's insuccess at this time, when he bid so fair for mounting the throne, may convince him of the vanity of making any future attempts; especially as his highland friends, upon whom alone he can rely, are broken and ruined to all intents. The general aversion of this Protestant nation for him and his family for more than half a century, may teach him that it will be in vain for him ever to acquire their affection and esteem. A Protestant people and a Popish king are things quite incompatible. Religion, liberty, and property, secured by the wisest laws, and guarded by a just and merciful prince upon the throne, are the inestimable privilege of G. Britain, and worth the contending for. The people are not to be gulled by fair promises of future security for their most valuable concerns,

cerns, when they are as strongly secured already as human laws and oaths can reach. A King from France and Rome will never be acceptable to a nation, who glories in being an enemy to the power and policy of the former, and to the religion of the latter: and yet, without the assistance of Popish powers, those inveterate enemies to the Protestant name and cause, the pretender can never hope to succeed in his ambitious purposes.

But if the conduct of the abdicated family may be in some measure excusable, as they have been taught to believe they have an indefeasible and hereditary right to the crown, and that no transgressions on their part can deprive them of that right; what excuse shall be offered in behalf of those pretended Protestants, who partook of all the felicity of the mildest and best modelled constitution in the world, and yet assembled under a Popish standard, supported by France and Spain, in order to overturn it? No defence can be pleaded for such men, who would subject a constitution which is justly the pride and confidence of its friends, the envy of its neighbours, the terror of its enemies, and the admiration of the world, to the arbitrary lust and pleasure of a dependent and pensionary of France, Spain, and Rome; and who would exchange the just, the mild, and brave princes of the illustrious house of Brunswick, a house raised, by the hand of Providence, to be head of the Protestant interest abroad, and chosen, by the united suffrage of the whole British nation, to be the protector of their religion and liberties, for an abjured race of Papists and tyrants.

Let it ever be remembered by every Briton, that it is impossible for a nation to be happy, where a people of the reformed religion are governed by a Popish sovereign. Such a sovereign, if he is sincere in the principles of his church, must treat his heretical subjects as that church directs him; and he ceases to be religious the moment he ceases to be a persecutor. The pretender,

tender, after so many repulses, may now at last be convinced of the impossibility of ever accomplishing his wishes; and the British Papists and Jacobites may rest satisfied, that all their attempts to dethrone the family of Hanover, and undermine our happy constitution, are vain and ineffectual; especially since the government has, since the suppression of the late rebellion, applied itself with unwearied attention to the civilizing the unpolished highlanders, abolishing the heritable jurisdictions, those slavish tenures, improving their lands, introducing among them the knowledge of property, and the advantages of commerce, and employing their warlike disposition in fighting against the natural enemies of their country.

And let every sincere Protestant, every honest Briton, proclaim war against the vices and abominations of France and Spain, and the idolatry and superstition of the church of Rome; turn from that enormous impiety and irreligion which so egregiously abound among ourselves; and heartily embark in the cause of the pure and undefiled religion of the holy scriptures: so shall we, as a nation, be secured against falling a prey to a Popish pretender, or having our land over-run with Popery and arbitrary power, from which the Almighty rescued us at the late glorious revolution, again in the year 1714, by the peaceable accession of the illustrious family of Hanover, and a third time in 1715, by defeating a wicked rebellion raised and fomented by the partisans of the pretender, and which we have the greatest reason to think and pray he will ever continue to do.

F I N I S.